

ANNALS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ACADEMY  
OF 60309  
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

ISSUED BI-MONTHLY.

VOL. VII.  
JANUARY, 1896—JUNE, 1896.

---

*Editor :*  
ROLAND P. FALKNER.

*Associate Editors :*  
EDMUND J. JAMES.      EMORY R. JOHNSON.

---

PHILADELPHIA :  
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.  
1896.

Handwritten text on the right edge of the page, possibly a page number or identifier: 4314

# CONTENTS.

## PRINCIPAL PAPERS.

|  | PAGE |
|--|------|
| BORNHAK, C. Rudolf von Gneist, . . . . .   | 253  |
| DURAND, E. DANA. Political and Municipal Legisla-<br>tion in 1895 . . . . .                        | 411  |
| FIAMINGO, G. Individual Determinism and Social<br>Science . . . . .                                | 270  |
| JAMES, EDMUND J. Bryce's American Commonwealth   | 377  |
| JAMES, EDMUND J. An Early Essay on Proportional<br>Representation . . . . .                        | 233  |
| ✓ JOHNSON, EMORY R. The Nicaragua Canal and the<br>Economic Development of the United States . . . | 38   |
| ✓ KEASBEY, L. M. The Nicaragua Canal and the Monroe<br>Doctrine . . . . .                          | I    |
| ✓ MILLER, J. W. Advantages of the Nicaragua Route .  | 32   |
| PATTEN, SIMON N. The Formulation of Normal Laws  | 426  |
| SMITH, J. ALLEN. The Multiple Money Standard . .   | 173  |

Bornhak no. 4374

## BRIEFER COMMUNICATIONS.

|   | PAGE |
|---|------|
| BRECKENRIDGE, R. M. Vacation Course of the Verein für<br>Sozial-politik . . . . . | 69   |
| HERSHEY, A. S. Recognition of Cuban Belligerency . . . . .                        | 450  |
| HOLLANDER, J. H. Adam Smith and James Anderson . . . . .                          | 461  |
| MCDERMOTT, E. J. History of a Municipal Charter in Kentucky . . . . .             | 63   |
| VEDITZ, C. W. A. New Academic Degrees at Paris . . . . .                          | 286  |
| WILLOUGHBY, W. F. The Musée Social in Paris . . . . .                             | 58   |
| —   |      |
| PROCEEDINGS OF THE ACADEMY . . . . .  | 49   |
| —   |      |
| EDITORIAL.— <i>R. P. Falkner</i> . . . . .  | 74   |

## MISCELLANY.

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| American Economic Association and the Political Science Association<br>of the Central States, Joint Meeting.— <i>H. R. Seager</i> . . . . . | 344 |
|---|-----|



## CONTENTS.

### PERSONAL NOTES.

Alessio, G., 666.  
Böckh, R., 292.  
Bonghi, R., 97.  
Catterall, R. C. H., 92.  
Crook, J. W., 86.  
Crowell, J. F., 93.  
Del Vecchio, G. S., 465.  
Glombinski, S., 465.  
Graziani, A., 467.  
Hershey, A. S., 92.

James, E. J., 78.  
Maggiore-Perni, F., 294.  
Mahaim, E., 95.  
Schmid, F., 94.  
Schwiedland, E. P., 291.  
van der Smissen, E., 96.  
Sparling, S. E., 94.  
Stavenow, L. V. A., 467.  
Walker, F., 92.  
Wright, C. D., 86.

## BOOK DEPARTMENT.

CONDUCTED BY H. R. SEAGER.

## REVIEWS.

|  | PAGE |
|--|------|
| BERTILLON, J. Cours élémentaire de Statistique.— <i>R. P. Falkner</i> .  | 474  |
| BESANT, WALTER; WOODS, R. A.; ELSING, W. T.; RIIS, JACOB<br>A.; PARSONS, W.; WENDELL, E. J.; FLAGG, ERNEST;<br>TUCKER, WM. J.; KIRKLAND, JOS.; SPEARMAN, E. R.;<br>MARIO, JESSIE W., and CRAIG, OSCAR. The Poor in Great<br>Cities.— <i>F. I. Herriott</i> . . . . . | 333  |
| BEVAN, W. L. Sir William Petty: A Study in English Economic<br>Literature.— <i>C. H. Hull</i> . . . . .  | 126  |
| BLACK, H. C. Handbook of American Constitutional Law.—<br><i>E. J. James</i> . . . . .   | 475  |
| BRECKENRIDGE, R. M. Canadian Banking System, 1817-1890.—<br><i>J. F. Johnson</i> . . . . .   | 305  |
| BRUCE, P. A. Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth<br>Century.— <i>H. R. Seager</i> . . . . .  | 477  |
| COMPARETTI, D. Vergil in the Middle Ages.— <i>D. C. Munro</i> .  | 136  |
| CRAIG, O. See BESANT.  |      |
| CUNNINGHAM, WM. Outlines of English Industrial History.— <i>H.<br/>R. Seager</i> . . . . .   | 122  |
| DODU, G. Histoire des institutions monarchiques dans la royauté<br>latine de Jérusalem.— <i>D. C. Munro</i> . . . . .  | 137  |
| DROZ, N. Études et portraits politiques.— <i>A. L. Lowell</i> . . .  | 120  |
| D'EICHTHAL, E. Souveraineté du peuple et gouvernement.— <i>H.<br/>E. Bourne</i> . . . . .  | 308  |
| ELSING, W. T. See BESANT.  |      |
| FITZMAURICE, E. Life of Sir William Petty.— <i>C. H. Hull</i> . . .  | 126  |
| FLAGG, E. See BESANT.  |      |
| INGRAM, J. K. A History of Slavery and Serfdom.— <i>J. Haynes</i> .  | 139  |
| KERR, CLARA H. Origin and Development of the U. S. Senate.—<br><i>J. Haynes</i> . . . . .  | 141  |
| KIRKLAND, JOS. See BESANT.   |      |
| KITSON, A. A Scientific Solution of the Money Question.— <i>L.<br/>M. Keasbey</i> . . . . .  | 310  |
| LIGHTFOOT, J. B. Historical Essays.— <i>J. M. Vincent</i> . . . . .  | 313  |

|   | PAGE |
|---|------|
| MAKOWER, F. Constitutional History and Constitutional Law of the Church of England.— <i>R. Hudson</i> . . . . . | 480  |
| MARIO, JESSIE W. <i>See</i> BESANT.   |      |
| MAYO-SMITH, R. Statistics and Sociology.— <i>R. P. Falkner</i> . . .  | 131  |
| MERRIAM, L. S. Higher Education in Tennessee.— <i>F. W. Moore</i> .   | 315  |
| PARSONS, W. <i>See</i> BESANT.  |      |
| RACIOPPI, F. Nuovi limiti e freni nelle istituzioni politiche Americane.— <i>F. J. Goodnow</i> . . . . .        | 481  |
| RANSOME, C. Advanced History of England.— <i>R. M. Jones</i> . . .  | 317  |
| RICHMAN, I. B. Appenzell.— <i>J. Macy</i> . . . . .   | 482  |
| RIIS, J. A. <i>See</i> BESANT.  |      |
| ROBERTSON, J. M. Buckle and his Critics.— <i>C. A. Herrick</i> . . .  | 486  |
| SANFORD, E. T. Blount College and the University of Tennessee.— <i>F. W. Moore</i> . . . . .                    | 315  |
| SCHANZ, G. Zur Frage der Arbeitslosen Versicherung.— <i>E. G. Balch</i> . . . . .                               | 490  |
| SEERBOHM, F. Tribal System of Wales.— <i>E. P. Cheyney</i> . . . .  | 488  |
| SELIGMAN, E. R. A. Essays in Taxation.— <i>H. C. Adams</i> . . . .  | 318  |
| SHAW, A. Municipal Government in Continental Europe.— <i>L. S. Rowe</i> . . . . .                               | 492  |
| SHAW, W. A. History of the Currency—1252-1894.— <i>F. I. Herriott</i> . . . . .                                 | 129  |
| SMART, W. Studies in Economics.— <i>S. Sherwood</i> . . . . .   | 321  |
| SPEARMAN, E. R. <i>See</i> BESANT.  |      |
| STEPHENS, W. R. W. Life and Letters of E. A. Freeman.— <i>H. M. Stephens</i> . . . . .                          | 113  |
| TUCKER, WM. J. <i>See</i> BESANT.   |      |
| WARSCHAUER, O. Louis Blanc.— <i>M. Whitcomb</i> . . . . .   | 496  |
| WENDELL, E. J. <i>See</i> BESANT.   |      |
| WETZEL, W. A. Benjamin Franklin.— <i>F. N. Thorpe</i> . . . . .   | 124  |
| WHITE, H. Money and Banking.— <i>J. F. Johnson</i> . . . . .  | 327  |
| WINSOR, J. The Mississippi Basin.— <i>G. H. Haynes</i> . . . . .  | 332  |
| WOODS, R. A. <i>See</i> BESANT.   |      |

NOTES.

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| ALTMANN, W., and BERNHEIM, E. Ausgewählte Urkunden zur Erläuterung der Verfassungsgeschichte Deutschlands in Mittelalter . . . . . | 107 |
| BERNHEIM, E. <i>See</i> ALTMANN.   |     |
| BILGRAM, H. Study of the Money Question . . . . .  | 102 |
| Bulletin of the Department of Labor . . . . .  | III |

|   | PAGE |
|---|------|
| BURGIS, E. Perils to British Trade . . . . .  | 111  |
| BURTON, E. D. Records and Letters of the Apostolic Age . . . . .  | 106  |
| CHEYNEY, E. P. Social Changes in England in the Sixteenth Century . . . . .                                       | 298  |
| CHISHOLM, G. G. Longmans' Gazetteer of the World . . . . .  | 470  |
| CLARE, GEO. The A B C of Foreign Exchanges . . . . .  | 104  |
| COGLEY, T. S. Law of Strikes, Lockouts and Labor Organizations . . . . .  | 103  |
| COOKE-TAYLOR, R. W. Factory System and the Factory Acts . . . . .   | 101  |
| CRAFTS, W. F. Practical Christian Sociology . . . . .   | 104  |
| CROCKER, U. H. Causes of Hard Times . . . . .   | 102  |
| EATON, S. Banking, Securities, Transportation and Foreign Trade . . . . .   | 104  |
| EDWARDS, J. Labour Annual . . . . .   | 469  |
| FLOWER, F. A. Proceedings of First Annual Convention of International Deep Waterways Association . . . . .        | 109  |
| FOSTER, R. Commentaries on the Constitution . . . . .   | 299  |
| GANNETT, H. Building of the Nation . . . . .  | 299  |
| GODKIN, E. L. Reflections and Comments . . . . .  | 299  |
| GOMEL, C. Les causes financieres de la Revolution française . . . . .   | 300  |
| GOW, W. Marine Insurance . . . . .  | 301  |
| GREEN, M. A. Are We Losing the West? . . . . .  | 103  |
| GREGOROVIVS, F. Rome in the Middle Ages . . . . .   | 469  |
| HERSHEY, A. S. Die Kontrolle über die Gesetzgebung in den Vereinigten Staaten . . . . .                           | 301  |
| HOLM, A. History of Greece . . . . .  | 107  |
| Jahrbuch der Internationalen Vereinigung für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft und Volkswirtschaftslehre . . . . . | 470  |
| LA FONTAINE, H., and OTLET, P. Bibliographia sociologica . . . . .  | 302  |
| MARSHALL, A. Principles of Economics . . . . .  | 99   |
| MOXOM, P. S. From Jerusalem to Nicæa . . . . .  | 302  |
| MÜNSTERBERG, O. Japans auswärtiger Handel von 1542 bis 1854, 303  |      |
| MYERS, P. V. History of Greece . . . . .  | 106  |
| NICHOLSON, J. S. Strikes and Social Problems . . . . .  | 471  |
| Note of Correction . . . . .  | 474  |
| OTLET, P. See LA FONTAINE.  |      |
| Proceedings of Second National Conference for Good City Government . . . . .                                      | 109  |
| RABBENO, U. American Commercial Policy . . . . .  | 101  |
| Report on the Chicago Strike of June-July, 1894 . . . . .   | 110  |
| Ricardo's unpublished letters . . . . .   | 113  |
| SALTER, W. M. Anarchy or Government? . . . . .  | 303  |

# CONTENTS.

ix

|   | PAGE |
|---|------|
| SCHMOLLER, G. The Mercantile System . . . . .                     | 471  |
| South Carolina Constitution . . . . .                             | 304  |
| Statistical Year Book of Canada . . . . .                         | 112  |
| STEINER, B. C. Citizenship and Suffrage in Maryland . . . . .     | 472  |
| Swiss Initiative . . . . .  | 111  |
| TARR, R. S. Elementary Physical Geography . . . . .               | 108  |
| TEGGART, F. J. Catalogue of the Hopkins Railway Library . . . . . | 473  |
| VILLARI, P. Niccolò Machiavelli . . . . .                         | 304  |
| WEBSTER, P. Law of Naturalization . . . . .                       | 304  |
| WRIGHT, C. D. Industrial Evolution of the United States . . . . . | 473  |

## CLASSIFIED BIBLIOGRAPHY.

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| November 1, 1895, to January 15, 1896 . . . . . | 336 |
| January 15 to March 15, 1896 . . . . .          | 498 |
| Books received . . . . .                        | 519 |

NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

CONDUCTED BY L. S. ROWE.

|  | PAGE          |
|--|---------------|
| Baltimore . . . . .                              | 507           |
| Berlin . . . . .                                 | 157           |
| Brooklyn . . . . .                               | 150           |
| Buffalo . . . . .                                | 353           |
| Cincinnati . . . . .                             | 152, 354      |
| Civil Service Reform in New York . . . . .       | 506           |
| English Cities . . . . .                         | 359           |
| Glasgow . . . . .                                | 359, 511      |
| Legislative Procedure in New York . . . . .      | 351           |
| London . . . . .                                 | 157, 510      |
| Municipal Government Board in New York . . . . . | 350           |
| New Orleans . . . . .                            | 153           |
| New York . . . . .                               | 145, 349, 504 |
| Omaha . . . . .                                  | 156           |
| Paris . . . . .                                  | 358           |
| Pennsylvania . . . . .                           | 506           |
| Philadelphia . . . . .                           | 148, 353      |
| San Francisco . . . . .                          | 151           |
| School Administration in New York . . . . .      | 505           |
| South Carolina Constitution . . . . .            | 357           |
| Street Railways in American Cities . . . . .     | 144           |
| Vienna . . . . .                                 | 158           |
| Washington . . . . .                             | 154           |

SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

CONDUCTED BY S. M. LINDSAY.

|   | PAGE     |
|---|----------|
| Charity Conventions . . . . .                             | 167      |
| Charity Organization Work . . . . .                       | 365      |
| Christian Missions and Social Progress . . . . .          | 374      |
| College Settlement Work . . . . .                         | 372      |
| Colored Population in Large Cities . . . . .              | 516      |
| Company Stores in Pennsylvania Mining Districts . . . . . | 162      |
| Cooper Union Labor Bureau . . . . .                       | 169      |
| Cultivation of Vacant City Lots . . . . .                 | 367      |
| Darkest England Scheme . . . . .                          | 517      |
| Improved Housing of the Poor . . . . .                    | 512      |
| Liquor Legislation in New York . . . . .                  | 514      |
| Liquor Traffic in South Carolina . . . . .                | 370      |
| Model Tenements in London . . . . .                       | 512      |
| Negro Problem . . . . .                                   | 166, 361 |
| Popular Banks in Italy . . . . .                          | 171      |
| School Savings Bank . . . . .                             | 172      |
| Temperance Question in United States . . . . .            | 371      |
| Theory of Social Forces . . . . .                         | 164      |
| Tramp Question in Hartford, Conn. . . . .                 | 171      |
| Tuskegee Conference of 1896 . . . . .                     | 517      |
| Workingman's Model Home . . . . .                         | 364      |

## SUPPLEMENTS.

THE THEORY OF SOCIAL FORCES.—By SIMON N. PATTEN. 151 pp.

*Supplement, January, 1896.*

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE KINGDOM OF BELGIUM.—Translated and Supplied with an Introduction and Notes by JOHN MARTIN VINCENT and ADA S. VINCENT. 40 pp.

*Supplement, May, 1896.*



JAN.

1896.

ANNALS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ACADEMY  
OF  
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

---

THE NICARAGUA CANAL AND THE MONROE  
DOCTRINE.

Lord Salisbury remarked a short time ago, in reply to some Liberal criticism, that he did not make up his foreign policy, he inherited it. Our own Secretaries of State are not so fortunate, for they have inherited, not policies but questions, and most of these are encumbered with estoppels of the past.

As for the American people—they decide these diplomatic questions off hand, as they come up, by instinct. Or to be more exact, two sets of diplomatic instincts seem to pervade our public mind, and it is only on rare occasions that our decisions are unanimous. On the one hand, our Monroe Doctrine impels us to keep the hand of Europe—of late, more specifically, the paw of the British lion—off the entire American Continent; while at the same time, our inherited dread of entangling foreign alliances often makes us hesitate to act when the crucial moment has arrived.

The people of England and the United States are, indeed, of the same race, and it is true enough—as an editorial writer of the New York *Herald* has lately remarked—that “blood is thicker than water.” Blood is not thicker than land, however, and it is over the latter element that our disputes with Great Britain always seem to arise. We have long become accustomed to look upon the western half of the earth’s surface as ours, while England’s ambition seems to be to dominate the whole. To a certain extent, therefore, we both desire the same thing; and when even blood relations have their heart’s desire set upon the acquisition of a single object, there is apt to be quarreling in the best regulated families.

The case of John Bull versus Uncle Jonathan *in re* Nicaraguan Canal Route is indeed a long and complicated one, and, with the space at my disposal, a bare outline of the issue must suffice.\*

Diplomatic questions for the most part have their roots in geography or ethnography. Disputes over boundaries, and controversies about peoples, fill at least three quarters of the nations’ blue books. Both elements enter into the present difficulty.

From the mouth of the San Juan on the Atlantic coast, a natural waterway extends through Nicaragua to within a few miles of the Pacific Ocean. This route of transit between the seas has long been an object of regard by the maritime nations of the west, and on this account Nicaragua’s territory and people have both become subjects of international importance. The land itself is, moreover, divided longitudinally by the Cordillera range of mountains, into two distinct geographic sections. There is the Mosquito coast on the east, densely wooded, rather damp and insalubrious, and only fitted for extractive industry. The trade winds lose the greater part of their moisture in crossing the

\* A detailed account of this whole question will be found in the author’s book on “Interoceanic Transit: Its History and Significance,” now on press.

range, however, and the region on the other side, round about the lakes, consisting mostly of plain lands and valleys, is well adapted to sub-tropical economic advance.

Aztec emigrants from Mexico settled in pre-historic times upon this fertile Nicaraguan depression toward the west, and there built up their semi-civilization. Having no immediate use for the lands across the mountains, these primitive Americans left the savages of the eastern seaboard undisturbed, and thus the line of geographic division became even in the early days one of ethnic demarcation as well.

In their search for a westerly route to the Indies, the Spaniards discovered this country from the east, and at once took possession of several points along the shore. Neither the land nor its wild inhabitants offered any attractions to the European gold-seekers, and little attempt was made to colonize the shore. The discovery of the Pacific soon gave rise to voyages of South Sea discovery as well, and it was from the west, therefore, that the rich lands of Nicaragua were finally opened up.

The conquerors made short work of the Aztec colonists they found there, and soon brought the Nicaraguan depression completely under their control. With such riches before them, they ceased to trouble themselves further about the lands they had discovered along the eastern coast, and so they too left the Indian tribes in peace, except for the occasional raids of their slave hunters. The Spanish colonists of the interior must needs have an outlet on the Atlantic, however, not only to facilitate their own export trade with the mother country, but also in order that the still richer products of Peru might find a convenient route of transit to the eastern coast and Spain. They strained a point, therefore, and with some difficulty secured control of the San Juan River. With their immediate necessities thus provided for, the Spaniards pushed their conquest no further, but left the Indians of the eastern coast to their own devices.

Being first upon the scene, Spain was soon able to secure a monopoly of the entire West Indian and Southern American trade. No nation dared yet oppose her openly, but this did not prevent private citizens of rival powers from leaguering themselves together against their common enemies the Spaniards, into what was known as the "Freebooter Republic." After gaining a foothold on an uninhabited island of the West Indies, these buccaneers soon saw that fortune favored their piratical designs along the unoccupied eastern shores of the mainland. They at once cultivated the friendship of the Indians, making common cause with the natives there against their enemies the slave hunters, and thus, in the end, were enabled to establish themselves securely among the lagoons of the Mosquito Shore, on the Bay Islands off the Honduras coast, and in Belize along the eastern shores of Yucatan. From these vantage grounds the freebooters then swept the Spanish Main in their swift-sailing craft, and played havoc with the richly laden homeward-bound galleons of the Spaniards.

The majority of these buccaneers were Englishmen, and Spain accordingly protested vigorously against their acts at the English Court. England avoided the question at first by denying her own subjects and by disavowing their acts. Cromwell came into power soon after, however, and, in accordance with his vigorous foreign policy, he decided to make use of the hardy buccaneers, and so gain a foothold for England in the West Indies. His mind was set on Cuba, but failing in this, his secret expedition secured Jamaica for Great Britain in 1655.

Spain was by this time thoroughly alarmed, and fearing lest the conquests should go further, offered to treat with England now, on the basis of what each had thus far secured. The American treaty was accordingly concluded between the two powers in 1670, whereby it was agreed "that the most serene king of Great Britain, his heirs and successors, shall have, hold, keep, and enjoy forever, with plenary right of

sovereignty, dominion possession and proprietary, all those lands, regions, islands, colonies and places whatsoever, being or situated in the West Indies, or any part of America which the said king of Great Britain or his subjects do at present hold and possess."

Being now herself a West Indian power, the activities of the freebooters were as annoying to England as they had been to Spain before, so she at once set about extirpating the confederacy. Not wishing to proceed against her own countrymen in the matter, England took care to inform her buccaneers of her intention beforehand, advising them moreover, to abandon their piratical raids and settle down along the eastern shore among their Indian friends, as peaceable log-cutters instead. In this way England evidently hoped to continue to "hold and possess" the points of advantage thus far acquired on the mainland, and bring them thus *ex post facto* under the terms of the treaty of 1670.

While the English freebooters were settling their final accounts with the Spanish colonists of the interior before retiring to the coast, another important element was added to the ethnography of the Mosquito Shore. In 1650 a Dutch slave ship, homeward bound from Guinea, was wrecked off the coast, and in the confusion a large body of negroes escaped to the shore. The Indians received them kindly and took them into their tribe. From this strange amalgamation of two such distinct ethnic stocks, a hybrid race—since known as the Mosquito Indians—rapidly grew up, and soon spread itself out along the shore from Cape Gracias à Dios to the Blewfields Lagoon. On their return to the coast in 1688, the English buccaneers also took pains to make friends with the strangers, and soon re-established their authority over the tribe, taking up their permanent abode now among the lagoons of the shore in the capacity of wood-cutters. Wishing to cement their newly formed peaceable connections with their fellow-countrymen of Jamaica, the English then sent Jeremy, the young Mosquito chief, across the Main

with a petition to the governor that he might be taken under the protection of the British crown. The English governor of Jamaica still had his doubt as to the pacific intent of the ex-pirates, and refused to take any official action in Jeremy's behalf. In his private capacity, he did, however, commission the Mosquito chief to bring back fifty warriors and hunt down runaway slaves in Jamaica. An English vessel was placed at Jeremy's disposal, with plenty of rum for the voyage—the contract was faithfully fulfilled on both sides, and on this informal basis the British protectorate over Mosquitoland was established.

In 1739 England was involved in open war with Spain over matters arising from the question of the Austrian Succession, and could thenceforth pursue her policy of further encroachment in America more openly. It was considered useless to attack the Spaniards at home, so the Spanish Main became the centre of this more especial maritime conflict between the two rival powers in the New World. English agents were accordingly sent out from Jamaica, to Belize and Mosquitoland, in order to unite the scattered settlers there, and stir up the natives to a determined revolt against the Spanish colonists of the interior. The protectorate over the Mosquito Shore was now proclaimed in due form, Belize was connected more closely with Mosquitoland by the formal acquisition of the Bay Islands, and definite plans were also laid to extend the British dominion to the Pacific by the seizure of the San Juan and the transit route. Peace being declared at this juncture in Europe, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, further military operations in Central America were for the time at least suspended. The British agents remained, however, in the capacity of Superintendents of the Shore, and English rule continued to be maintained, as before, from Belize to the Blewfields Lagoon.

The Seven Years' War again abrogated treaty relations between England and Spain in 1756, and in spite of his effort at conciliation, Pitt found Spain taking the side of



France in the American phase of this controversy known as the "French and Indian War." England's navy and her American colonists proved too much for this Franco-Spanish alliance, however, and in the treaty of Paris, 1763, Great Britain was again in a position to dictate terms to her rivals. Spain was obliged to give up Florida to her successful opponent, and compelled also to allow British subjects the right to cut wood all along Central America's eastern sea board. In return for this last favor, England indeed, agreed to demolish the fortifications she had erected along the coast and withdraw her troops; but as she had now acquired by law the right she had thus far been fighting for, force was no longer of any immediate use. Belize was then made an independent British settlement, while Mosquitoland became henceforth a more or less regular adjunct of Jamaica.

At the outbreak of the American Revolutionary struggle Spain again took sides with France, according to the terms of her Bourbon Alliance, made under the pressure of the Seven Years' War. England was therefore the more determined now on completely breaking Spain's power in America by seizing the transit route through Nicaragua, and thus severing the mainland colonies in twain. A powerful expedition was accordingly fitted out in Jamaica, with Captain Polson in command of the troops, and Admiral Nelson—then a young post-captain—in charge of the fleet and transports. The English settlers of the shore at the same time marshaled their Indian allies for the attack, and the whole force then pushed up the San Juan in a body. Everything went well at first, as the Spanish colonists were able to offer but little resistance. Fever, contracted on the coast, soon broke out among the troops, however; Nelson himself was one of the first to be taken down, and before this last unexpected enemy the whole expedition was in the end obliged to retreat with great loss. By this time also the tide had at last begun to turn against England in the

north. Having her own flesh and blood to contend against on this second occasion, Great Britain was forced to submit, and Spanish-America, in spite of the futile part she had played in the struggle, was generously allowed to share in the spoils. In the treaty of Versailles, 1783, Great Britain was reluctantly forced to give up all claims to the Bay Islands and the Mosquito Shore, and rest content henceforth with certain usufructuary rights in Belize. Her settlers, who had at least held their own on the shore, still refused to submit to such terms, however, and there were many in England who supported their claim. The government was nevertheless firm in the matter and, having promised in the treaty of Versailles, felt called upon to keep its word. So in 1786 a supplementary treaty was concluded with Spain, whereby England again agreed to give up the Bay Islands and Mosquitoland, in return for some further usufructuary rights in Belize. The settlers were now forced to retire to Yucatan, though their friends of the opposition still maintained that by abandoning the Mosquito protectorate Great Britain had "hung up her degradation in all the courts of Europe."

With the Spain of Napoleon England was again at war in 1796, and the treaties of 1783 and 1796 were no longer regarded as binding either by the home government or by the settlers in Central America. Finding the Carib Indians of the Island of St. Vincent too much attached to French interests, the West Indian authorities boldly deported them in a body—to the number of four thousand—and, in derogation of Spain's rights, landed them all on the Bay Islands. Infuriated at this fresh act of aggression the Spanish colonists then made a last desperate effort on their own account to drive the English settlers from Belize. The settlers repelled the attack, and under the cover of the guns of a British frigate, they began to extend the boundaries of their settlement far into the interior. The colonists having taken the initiative and instituted the attack, the settlers accordingly announced, that the land of Belize now belonged



to them by the paramount right of conquest and no longer under the treaty of 1786. England, it is true, at the close of the Peninsular war, revived the treaties of 1783 and 1786 *in toto* with the restored Spanish Government; but then the facts of the matter no longer fitted the case, and in this unsatisfactory condition the affair was finally left.

While English colonists, our people paid but little attention to this struggle between Spain and Great Britain for control of the West Indies and Central America; on the one hand because we were still loyal to the mother-land in matters of external politics, and again because our own internal affairs absorbed our entire attention. After we had secured our independence and become the first republic of the New World, the whole Spanish-American question appeared to us in quite a different light. As a young nation we stood for freedom, and, in the early enthusiasm of success, we soon came to regard the entire American Continent as the destined home of the free, and consequently under our protection.

The Spanish-American States to the south of us one by one also freed themselves in time from European control, and modeled their republican institutions after those of the United States. A strong reaction against constitutionalism at the same time set in among the States of eastern Europe. Already Russia, Prussia, Austria, France and Spain had leagued themselves together in their so-called Holy Alliance to crush out liberal ideas. The Czar's government soon after began to encroach upon our northwest territory, and the rumor was spread abroad that the Holy Alliance had determined to restore to Ferdinand of Spain his colonies in America.

George Canning, the English Foreign Secretary, was fearful of the designs of his Continental rivals, both in Europe and in America. As a counter stroke he, therefore, suggested that the United States unite with Great Britain in a joint protest against any further European interference in the affairs of the American Continent. This was precisely

John Quincy Adams' idea, but seeing no reason why England should be made an exception to our national policy, he refused the proffered co-operation, and induced President Monroe to act alone in the matter, along the lines thus laid down. We still admitted Great Britain as at least a silent partner in our Monroe Doctrine, however, for "with existing colonies or dependencies of any European power," we expressly declined to interfere, and thus left England secure in the possessions she had thus far acquired and maintained in America. It was rather the independent Spanish-American States which were henceforth to be under our protection, though these too we left free to develop in their own way.

Spanish-America was naturally enthusiastic over the stand we had taken. The patriot Bolivar accordingly proposed a congress of all independent American States, under the leadership of the United States, to take counsel for their continued safety and prosperity. Adams was then President and he, with his Secretary of State, Henry Clay, were both highly in favor of the plan. Congress, and the people of the United States generally, supported them with enthusiasm, but the Senate was opposed. The Spanish-American States had gone further in the cause of freedom than we had dared to go, as they one and all had by this time abolished the institution of slavery. It was on the program of the Panama Congress, moreover, to recognize the independence of the negro republic of Hayti, and such a proceeding our Senate, as then constituted, could in no way be expected to tolerate. Slavery was already a tender subject in Washington, and the President's forces soon found themselves compelled to give up the contest. Without our hearty co-operation the Panama Congress came to nothing, and, now that the fear of immediate European interference had for the present passed away, Spanish-America was again left to her own erratic devices.

The idea of the Monroe Doctrine was still kept alive, it is true, by the Central American States and a few American

canal enthusiasts, but the great body of the American people were too busy developing their own land to pay much attention to the matter, and the Government of the United States ceased to take any active part in the issue. Great Britain, on the other hand, soon grew jealous of our continued western advance, and determined to parallel us both to the north and to the south, by extending her power through Canada to the western seaboard, and by securing her long-desired control of the route of transit across Central America to the Pacific.

The methods employed by both powers in their advance toward the west were identical. Settlers and frontiersmen of each nation were allowed to go forth into Indian or Spanish-American lands, and there gain rights as squatters. Trouble was sure to arise with the people upon whose territory these settlers encroached, and in every such case the two powerful governments would interfere in behalf of their outraged citizens and thus secure control. Neither party cared to interfere directly, however, with the territorial advance of the other, and so the northwest boundary line was run between Canada and the United States with only jealous grumbling on either side.

England's advance across Canada we were easily able to watch across the boundary line, but to her doings in Central America we paid not the slightest attention. Unnoticed by us, her settlers in Belize extended their boundaries into Guatemala, and renewed their old friendship with the Mosquito Indians. They soon arranged the succession to the crown of Mosquitoland to suit themselves and finally induced one king, Sambo, to appoint, before his death, the English Superintendent of Belize regent of the Mosquito Shore during the minority of the heir-apparent, with the further request that the Church of England and Ireland be established in the land. The English regency being formally inaugurated, the settlers then demanded Nicaragua's recognition of the same, and, to give more color to the request—

with the timely assistance of a British warship—they occupied temporarily the port of the San Juan. Nicaragua refused to recognize the sovereignty thus claimed for Mosquitoland, and, without the aid of the home government, the settlers were unable to press their demands.

Just at this juncture the United States acquired the Californian seaboard through its successful war with Mexico, and our territory thus formed one broad belt stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, through the very heart of the northern continent. Lord Palmerston now deemed it high time for his government to act officially; for Great Britain and the United States seemed destined henceforth to be rivals on the Pacific as well, and the only adequate route to this western ocean lay across the American Isthmus. The claim of the Belize settlers was accordingly taken up by the British home government and Nicaragua was officially given to understand that the territorial right of the Mosquito king extended to the mouth of the San Juan. Nicaragua again refused to recognize the claim and appealed once more to the United States for aid. We had no knowledge to act upon, however, and before any steps could be taken, an English naval force had seized upon the port of the San Juan itself and compelled Nicaragua, at the point of the bayonet, to abandon forever all right over the mouth of the stream. The Nicaraguan officials were thus forced to give place to an Anglo-Mosquito administration, and the port was now called "Greytown" in honor of Governor Grey, of Jamaica, who had so successfully planned the campaign.

In the meanwhile the discovery of gold in California induced an immense tide of emigration from our eastern States to these rich western lands. The "Great American Desert" was then thought to be practically impassable and capitalists were quick to see that rich profits could be gained by establishing some direct route of transit to the west, more adequate than the toilsome journey in prairie-schooners across the plains, or the perilous sea voyage around the

Horn. With the germs of secession in the air it was also highly important from a political point of view to bind this new western territory more closely to the life of the east by the links of trade and commerce. Thus the eyes of both the people and the government of the United States were suddenly turned toward the long-neglected Isthmus. The government was at first for avoiding the Nicaraguan issue, and, having failed to secure a right of way across Tehuantepec from Mexico, the administration turned to New Grenada and secured from that State a monopoly of transit across the Isthmus of Panama. No European power opposed us here, so we did not hesitate to assert our control and take upon ourselves an exclusive guarantee of the route.

American capitalists were not so cautious as their government, however, and, seeing the advantages the Nicaraguan route afforded for an immediate route of transit to the Pacific, they at once secured concessions on their own account from that all too willing State, sufficient to provide for all present and future contingencies. They soon found England held the key to the situation, however, and so as usual appealed to their government for aid. Polk was then President, but both he and his Secretary of State, Buchanan, were still ignorant of the true nature of the British claim. An agent, Elijah Hise, was accordingly sent out to inquire into the situation, but expressly instructed not to enter into any treaty stipulations with Nicaragua before advising the Washington authorities. Upon his arrival in Nicaragua Hise saw that no time was to be lost if American rights were to be preserved; so throwing aside his instructions, he fell back on the Monroe Doctrine for support, and, in a formal treaty, guaranteed Nicaragua's paramount right of sovereignty from sea to sea over the whole territory she had claimed, and that, too, in the very face of England's adverse possession of Greytown and the entire Mosquito Shore. The nature of this treaty was at once spread abroad through the press, the American people seemed eager for its immediate

enforcement, and, amid this rejuvenated enthusiasm over the Monroe Doctrine, the Polk Administration came to an end without taking any further action in the matter.

Polk's successor, General Taylor, now found himself in a quandary. He had no majority in the Senate, and the press of the opposition was only too eager to trip him up. If he decided to push the Hise treaty through, Taylor felt there was a strong probability of his being led into a war with Great Britain, and, without the united support of the Senate, such a policy he deemed to be fatal. If, on the other hand, he were to disavow Hise's acts, he knew the people would at once be up in arms, accusing him and his administration of pusillanimity before British aggression. On the horns of this dilemma Taylor, or more properly his Secretary of State, John M. Clayton, attempted to avoid both issues by pursuing a midway course.

To this end, another diplomatic agent, E. G. Squier, was sent off at once to Nicaragua, with full power to enter into treaty stipulations with that State, but with definite instructions not to involve the United States "in any entangling alliances or any unnecessary controversy." Squier's task was a well-nigh impossible one. To enforce the contract the canal company had made with Nicaragua meant sure conflict with England, while not to enforce it involved a total abandonment of the American right of way. Squier chose the former alternative, but in a modified form, in the hopes of avoiding any serious outbreak on Great Britain's part. He accordingly accepted the company's contract, and undertook to guarantee the neutrality of the canal route at least from sea to sea, for his government. Then mindful of his instructions, and in the vain hope of neutralizing the issue, Squier had a further clause inserted in both the contract and the treaty, to the effect that his government sought no exclusive control over the canal, and therefore invited all other nations to enter into like treaty arrangements with Nicaragua for the joint guarantee of the route.



By making the canal thus free to all nations, Squier evidently intended to nullify England's claim, and allow American capital to proceed at once with the work.

While he was thus engaged in Nicaragua the English agent Mr. Chatfield—with the aid of a British ship of war—was actively pressing an old claim against Honduras for a debt said to be due to one of Her Majesty's subjects. Now the canal route as then planned, was to terminate on the Pacific in the Bay of Fonseca, which separates the State of Honduras from Nicaragua on the west. In this bay—and directly at the proposed mouth of the canal—lies Tigre Island, belonging to Honduras, and this, Squier understood, was the real object of Chatfield's diplomacy. Hastening to the Honduras capital, in order to checkmate his rival, Squier at once entered into treaty relations with the authorities there, and succeeded in securing for the United States Government the possession of this strategic island. Chatfield, hearing of this *coup*, sent word to the Pacific squadron to meet him off the Bay of Fonseca, and hurried across Honduras to be on hand himself. With a naval force again to support him, Chatfield then seized upon Tigre Island in the name of the crown, as an indemnity for the debt still unpaid. Squier then informed Chatfield that the British were on United States territory, and, receiving no satisfaction from this, he ordered the English to evacuate the island at once, and added that if his request were not complied with within six days, his government would consider it an act of aggression, and proceed accordingly.

In the meantime Abbott Lawrence, our Minister to England, by searching the archives in London, had succeeded in making out a strong historical case against British encroachments in Central America, and was prepared to maintain any application of the Monroe Doctrine his government might decide upon. With the issue thus directly before him, Clayton recognized that his policy of conciliation had failed, and, rather than press the matter to its

logical conclusion, he decided to make what terms he could with Great Britain at once. So he frankly told Lord Palmerston the predicament he was in, and suggested that the immediate controversy between England and the United States be buried, by the two nations co-operating in the construction and control of the canal. There was something inspiring in the idea of these two great nations of the Anglo-Saxon race, working thus in harmony for the peaceful commerce of the world, and Clayton hoped by this stroke, to transform the present indignation of the American people into a spirit of international enthusiasm.

Lord Palmerston scarcely looked for so speedy a recognition of his claims, and of course willingly accepted Clayton's proposals. Sir Henry Bulwer was accordingly dispatched as a special envoy to Washington, to treat with Clayton directly along the lines he had proposed. Bulwer's first request was that Squier and all his acts and treaties be disavowed. This Clayton readily consented to, and thereby made England, for the first time, an acknowledged exception to the Monroe Doctrine. Sir Henry then suggested that the United States and Great Britain henceforth treat directly with each other in regard to canal matters, and no longer indirectly through Nicaragua. In agreeing to this proposition Clayton went further, and formally recognized England's claim to the mouth of the San Juan, which up to this he had strenuously denied.

On this one-sided basis the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was then drawn up. Therein each party agreed never to "obtain or maintain for itself any exclusive control over the said ship canal" nor to "exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito coast, or any part of Central America." In return for these mutual (?) favors, the two powers then arranged to co-operate in the construction and control of this and any future transit-way which might be laid across the isthmus. The treaty was concluded in a hurry, and then pushed through the Senate, by the



supporters of the administration, with extraordinary haste. No Senator seemed to comprehend the true nature of the instrument, though a general feeling prevailed that Great Britain had definitely retreated from her Mosquito protectorate, before a vigorous assertion of American rights.

Having seen his treaty pass safely through the ordeal of the Senate, Sir Henry Bulwer then felt his position to be reasonably secure, and at once dispatched a memorandum to Clayton to the effect that, his government did not "understand the engagements of that convention to apply to Her Majesty's settlement at Honduras or its dependencies." Clayton replied at once that this reservation was distinctly understood by the Senate, and, without troubling himself to lay so trifling a matter before that body, he simply filed Sir Henry Bulwer's note away among the archives of the State Department. Ignorant of the real nature of the convention, and totally unaware of the all important reservation Sir Henry had succeeded in tacking onto the original instrument, the President then proclaimed the treaty on the fifth of July, 1850.

Results now materialized very rapidly. The American Canal Company, still thinking themselves secure in their rights, opened up temporary transit facilities across Nicaragua, and established their headquarters on the outskirts of Greytown. Colonists and adventurers flocked in, and soon a thriving American settlement was established. The British Government, on its part, immediately sent warships to the scene in order to maintain both its Anglo-Mosquito administration at Greytown, and its protectorate over the entire coast as a "dependency" of Honduras. The Americans protested, and all was confusion once more.

President Taylor's death occurred only a week after his promulgation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and thus the burden of this new dispute fell upon Fillmore's Secretary of State, Daniel Webster. His attempt to straighten matters out along the lines his predecessor had laid down, proved

utterly ineffectual, however, and upon this second failure, Great Britain made her final move in the controversy, by proclaiming the Bay Islands also a colony of the crown, and a dependency of Honduras.

A storm of indignation against the British then broke out in the United States. Congress took the matter up with great vigor, and in the course of the heated discussion which followed, Sir Henry Bulwer's important reservation at last came to light. The Senate was non-plussed at the revelation, and Senator after Senator, who had voted for the treaty, declared he would never had done so, had he understood the true nature of the case. Concerning the Mosquito protectorate there was now little to be said, as Clayton had practically allowed this British claim. The seizure of the Bay Islands, however, being subsequent to the promulgation of the convention, was evidently a flagrant violation of the treaty, and so the Senate declared it to be. England was now openly accused of bad faith, and an immediate abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was demanded. Both powers increased their fleets in the West Indies and a serious crisis seemed imminent. The British had a war in the East on their hands at this time and did not care to enter into fresh complications in the west. Secure in her possessions and with the Clayton-Bulwer treaty still in force, England accordingly bided her time, feeling sure the present excitement would abate. Only one serious outbreak occurred, involving the rights of the two signatory powers. This was in Greytown, and resulted from a quarrel between the American settlers there and the Anglo-Mosquito authorities of the port. An American man-of-war appeared upon the scene and, meeting with no opposition, proceeded to bombard and destroy the town. The British Government still declined to interfere, and the issue soon after took an entirely different turn. Civil war had broken out again in Nicaragua, and in the midst of the struggle, General Walker, the famous American filibuster, landed his little band of adventurers

there, and before long had the affairs of the country completely in his hands. The United States Government was at first disposed to support the rule of the adventurer, and more particularly as British agents were reported to be aiding Costa Rica in opposition to his course. Walker was evidently working entirely in the interests of the slave-holding States, however, as one of his first acts as pseudo-president of Nicaragua, was to re-establish the institution of slavery in that land. This turned the Spanish Americans, regardless of party, against him, and cost him also the undivided support of the government at Washington. So our navy had finally to interfere, and deport the now unpopular Walker from the scenes of his filibustering enterprise.

With the *status quo* established in Central America and the Crimean War fought and won, the original issue between Great Britain and the United States was bound to come up again. This Central American imbroglio had altogether changed the aspect of affairs, however, and neither party was as eager now as before in its claims. Walker had destroyed the last vestiges of transit across Nicaragua, the Panama Railway was already in operation, and there was even talk of constructing lines across the American Desert itself. Thus the Nicaragua Canal once more became a question of the more or less indefinite future, to be dealt with accordingly.

Experience had amply proved to us the futility of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty at all events, and Buchanan, when he became President, fully decided to call upon Congress for its immediate abrogation. With the exception of Greytown, England's territorial interests in Central America were as secure as before, and, with an eye to the future, she was now bent on retaining all the rights over the canal route she had been able to acquire so easily through Clayton's obliging acquiescence. Lord Napier, the British Minister, was equal to the occasion, and, recognizing from

the outset Buchanan's determination, he began at once on a policy of conciliation. He accordingly informed the President that Her Majesty's government had decided to give up the Bay Islands and abandon the Mosquito protectorate forever. A special envoy, Sir William Ouseley, was even then on his way to America, he added, to arrange the matter satisfactorily with Honduras and Nicaragua. In consideration of these facts Lord Napier begged Buchanan not to stir up controversy again by calling for the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty at that time. Buchanan proved himself to be as much of a tyro in diplomacy as Clayton had been before him. He did not ask that England should continue to treat with the United States in the matter. He simply promised that he would not bring the matter up before Congress, as he had intended, but would await the results of Ouseley's mission.

Having thus gained her point so easily England took plenty of time and allowed the question to die out of the minds of even the American people before arranging matters in Central America to suit herself. In settling with Guatemala Great Britain secured a legal title for her settlers over all the land that they had encroached upon, making modern British Honduras some five times the size of the original Belize. The Bay Islands were indeed unreservedly abandoned according to the terms of our demand, but it was in dealing with Nicaragua that England exhibited her best diplomacy. The protectorate over the Mosquito Shore was nominally given up, it is true; but it was so arranged that the Indians were to be left unmolested in a so-called Reserve, covering about the same area as their quondam independent kingdom. Within these limits the Mosquito Indians were to exercise full power of local government, and for ten years the State of Nicaragua was to pay them an annual indemnity. Greytown was, furthermore, constituted a free port, practically beyond Nicaragua's control, but it was provided that certain custom duties should be levied there to meet the

Mosquito indemnity. Finally, in case Nicaragua should attempt to interfere in any way with the autonomy of the Indian Reservation, or should fail to pay the indemnity at the appointed times, Great Britain reserved to herself the right to interfere in behalf of her former allies. To put it briefly, England abandoned her *positive* protectorate with one stroke of the pen and immediately re-established a *negative* protectorate with another, and Nicaragua, left to her own devices, was forced to agree to the terms.

These three treaties were now laid before President Buchanan for approval, and, having presumably studied their contents, he officially declared himself to be *entirely satisfied* with the result. Thus the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was maintained, England lost none of her rights, except her temporary dominion over Tigre and the Bay Islands, and the United States was now formally estopped from further objection to the events of the past.

There the matter rested without further discussion until De Lesseps, in 1879, began his operations in Panama. It was then proposed by the French enthusiast that the powers of Europe undertake a joint international guaranty of this southern route. Now we had already guaranteed the neutrality of the Isthmus of Panama as far back as 1848 and successfully preserved the same, moreover, during all the subsequent years. The American people, basing their opinion on the official surveys of their government, were indeed strongly in favor now of the Nicaraguan route; still they could not well countenance European control over any part of the Isthmus and be consistent. President Hayes therefore boldly declared in a message to Congress that the policy of this government was henceforth for a canal under exclusive American control, and Secretary of State Blaine was further instructed to inform the powers of our new decision. The Panama Canal project, with its international guarantee, was already doomed to failure and the Continental powers consequently did not feel called upon to reply to Blaine's

circular letter. Great Britain took care to draw our attention to the fact, however, that by the terms of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty she must still remain an exception to our policy of exclusive control. Blaine then attempted to refute this claim and went to great lengths in his reply to Lord Granville's note to point out the historical weakness of England's position. Lord Granville answered that he had Buchanan's word for it that we were "entirely satisfied" and that, therefore, the question of British right was no longer open to discussion.

President Arthur next conceived the idea of taking the matter entirely into American hands by having the United States Government construct the canal and control it through the natural right of ownership. To this end Secretary Frelinghuysen secured a treaty with Nicaragua granting us all necessary rights, and on this basis he then appealed to Lord Granville again to abrogate or modify the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. Lord Granville politely but positively declined to entertain any such proposition and Arthur was accordingly unable to mature his plans. President Cleveland withdrew the Frelinghuysen-Zavala treaty from the Senate and the canal project was once more thrown open to private American initiative.

Since then the Maritime Canal Company has made strenuous efforts to push through the construction of the canal on the basis of a governmental guarantee at least. In the face of English objections, resting on existing treaty stipulations, Congress has thus far been loath to take definite action in the matter, and rumor now has it that financial aid is being sought by the American promoters from private parties in England. However this may be, there can be no doubt that the question of American control over the canal route has again reached the critical stage, and the Monroe Doctrine seems likely before long to be tested once more in the case.

In the meantime events have been maturing in Nicaragua



which have exercised an important bearing on the present diplomatic situation. As might have been expected, Nicaragua failed to keep her promises to Great Britain in regard to the Mosquito Reserve. Soon after the signing of the treaty the Nicaraguan authorities began to interfere with the autonomy of the Indians, and the promised indemnity gradually fell into arrears. Great Britain waited long enough to secure a good case and then, in 1881, had the matter laid before the Emperor of Austria for arbitration. The decision was, of course, in her favor, as Nicaragua had certainly violated the terms of the treaty. Nicaragua's right of sovereignty over the Mosquito Indians and their Reserve was now even more explicitly denied by the imperial arbitrator and England was furthermore given express power to interfere in their behalf. Thereupon the English settlers once more openly resumed control over Mosquitoland and continued to rule over the reservation as before in the name of the Mosquito chief.

A number of Americans had by this time established themselves along the shore and were building up a lucrative banana trade with the United States. American influence thus became considerable in the Reserve, but, unfortunately for the diplomatic issues involved, the business interests of these fruit dealers strongly favored the rule of the English settlers. Under the revived Anglo-Mosquito administration, and with the support of the American settlers, Mosquitoland soon became a flourishing State, as the fruit and wood trade began to assume considerable importance. Therewith the jealousy of the Nicaraguans grew accordingly and trouble was bound to break out. The crisis came about in 1893 when Nicaragua and Honduras were engaged in one of those periodical conflicts which have marked the independent history of the Central American States. The forces of Honduras occupied Cape Gracias à Dios and threatened to invade the Reserve. Acting on this excuse Nicaragua marched her troops into the Reservation, pulled down the Mosquito

flag and proclaimed martial law over both Indians and settlers. The British Consul, Mr. Hatch, protested, and both American and English war vessels were sent to restore order. Our ship, the old Kearsarge, was wrecked off the coast and the British forces were thus left free to act as they would in behalf of their government. English marines were accordingly landed and a provisional government set up in the interest of the foreign residents of the shore. The Americans were asked to join in, but, in spite of the earnestness of the British request, they wisely refused to become involved. The United States Government then entered a firm protest against this renewed English occupation, and Great Britain deemed it best to comply in this case by withdrawing her forces.

Left to themselves again the foreign residents then combined against Nicaraguan rule, and foolishly attempted to establish a joint government of English and Americans for "business purposes" over the Reserve. Neither the United States nor Great Britain—considering their peculiar relations to each other, and to Nicaragua—could well support such action on the part of their respective citizens, and so Nicaragua was again left free to take such action as she would, against the foreigners. The second crisis came about in July, 1894, with an open conflict between Nicaragua and the settlers. The British Government held entirely aloof this time, so at the request of the Nicaraguan Commissioner, Captain O'Neil, of the United States navy, landed his marines and restored order. The Nicaraguan authorities of the interior then protested against such action on the part of the United States, and in August sent a strong force to the coast and reassumed control over the Reserve. Two Americans and several Englishmen—among the latter Mr. Hatch—were then arrested by the Nicaraguan authorities, carried off to Managua, and subsequently banished from the land.

Our government was thus placed in an anomalous position.



We were bound to support Nicaragua over against Great Britain by the very logic of the case, and yet we had to proceed against her now for violation of the right of certain American citizens. Now Nicaragua we knew was bent upon incorporating the Reserve into her own territory, and in this she had always had our support; but, by the terms of her treaty with England, this could only be done with the consent of the Indians themselves. The United States Government therefore simply demanded that Nicaragua raise the decree of banishment from her citizens, and without seeking further redress, endeavored to persuade the Indians to abandon their British friends and voluntarily incorporate themselves into the Nicaraguan State. American influence on the shore, strange to say, proved strong enough to bring about this result, and on November 20, 1894, the decision was formally made. Having provided for such a contingency in her treaty, England could not now object, though she could never have looked for such a result during the days of her supremacy. Thus for once, and at last, fortune seems to have favored the American side of the question; but in Central America one can never be sure how long existing conditions will prevail, and with Great Britain still to be dealt with, the solution of the problem is yet to come.

England we know has since retaliated by demanding from Nicaragua an indemnity of \$75,000 for Hatch's arrest, and in default of immediate payment, she seized upon, and held temporarily, the town and port of Corinto at the western terminus of the proposed canal.

Our hands were tied in the matter, and our government could not well interfere, as two of Hatch's associates were American citizens for whom we too had demanded redress from Nicaragua on the same grounds. The indemnity was paid in some way, however, and the British have been once more obliged to withdraw.

Thus the question stands to-day, and on the whole we

can say that, thanks to American influence in Mosquitoland, the position of our government over against Great Britain is already considerably improved. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty still stands, it is true, but then England exercises no control now over either end of the canal route, and such dominion was after all the main cause of our former weakness. With the canal route under the control of Nicaragua, we are back again, therefore, on the *status quo* of 1846, and but for the Clayton-Bulwer treaty we could treat with England accordingly on the old basis.

\* \* \* \* \*

The long controversy, here outlined, over the control of the Nicaraguan canal route, constitutes but the narrower issue of that larger struggle, which has been going on between Great Britain and the United States ever since the days of our political independence, for dominion of the American Continent. In conclusion it may, therefore, be well, to place this more or less detailed dispute, in its proper diplomatic environment, and show its relation to the larger issue involved.

Our own advance, it must be borne in mind, has been solely toward the west; while the course of England's supremacy has been eastward from the British Isles, as well as toward the west. The eastern water route to the Pacific, is, as we know, already under British control. Beginning with Gibraltar, strategic points mark Great Britain's way through the Mediterranean, past Malta and Cyprus, which are hers, to Egypt and the Suez canal, which are also practically under her control. On the other side, the outlet of the Red Sea is guarded by the two English protectorates of Aden and Somali, and the dependent Island of Perim in the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. The islands of the Indian Ocean for the most part belong to England; the Indian peninsula, Ceylon, and Burmah form part of the British Empire; while the Straits Settlements, farther on, guard the outlet to the Pacific. The possession of Hong Kong and

her administrative control over the Chinese customs, advance Great Britain's influence to the north, along the eastern shores of Asia; North Borneo gives her a word to say in the affairs of Central Oceanica, and her title to Australia and New Zealand insure her dominion in the southeast.

England's eastern advance has been paralleled, however, by Russia overland; and the Slav has already reached the Pacific. Thus Russia constitutes Great Britain's strong rival in the far East, and since China's late defeat by the Japanese, the *status quo* of the two powers in these parts, has been seriously disturbed. England's Eastern Question, in other words, has also reached a critical stage, and any disturbance of her relations with Russia on the Pacific would react against her all along the line. In such an event, the northern frontier of India would certainly be threatened, the Dardanelles might possibly be opened to Russian fleets, and if France be really Russia's ally, the whole Egyptian controversy including the question of the control of the Suez Canal must necessarily be revived. Such in brief is the condition of affairs in the East, between Great Britain and Russia, the two main powers concerned.

Great Britain's advance toward the west was indeed interrupted for the time by the revolt of her American colonies, but by no means cut short. She still held Canada, and by paralleling our advance toward the Pacific, she has succeeded in the end, in cutting us off from our northwesterly outpost, Alaska. On the western coast of North America, England has the United States, therefore, as her Pacific rival, just as she has been obliged to face Russia along the eastern shores of Asia across the western sea.

But this dominion along the northwest does not tell the whole story of Great Britain's westerly advance toward the Pacific. The Bermuda Islands have long been hers in the Central Atlantic. To the southwest, the Bahamas and the Leeward and Windward Islands enclose the Caribbean Sea; the control of Jamaica has continued English supremacy in

the West Indies; while on either side of the Atlantic outlet of the future interoceanic canal, British Honduras and British Guiana guard the way. It was England's aim, as we know, to force her way directly through the isthmus to the Pacific, and it was fever, and not Spain, which prevented Nelson from accomplishing this object in the early days.

Continuing to be baffled in this last attempt, by the more or less determined attitude of the United States, England has employed her energies to good effect, meanwhile by binding the States of South America—and more particularly those of the west coast—to her commercial supremacy at least, by the bonds of trade and finance. Having reached the Pacific in this way by advancing toward the west as well, Great Britain's natural ambition must be to join the two ends of these lines of her supremacy, and thus encircle the globe. A move in this direction has lately been made toward the Hawaiian Islands, the "halfway-house" of the Pacific; but here again the United States government showed an incipient tendency to interfere, and there the matter stands to-day.

We Americans—chips from the old Anglo-Saxon block—are likewise a land-hungry race, and in our very infancy we declared that the whole Western Hemisphere, with the exception of the then British possessions, and with a nominal regard for Spanish and Portuguese claims, really belonged to us. We already had more land before us than we could conveniently swallow at once, however, and so we contented ourselves with the territory we had already acquired, and such as belonged to our weaker Spanish-American neighbor, allowing the European powers to take what they could of the rest. Great Britain, as we know, availed herself of the opportunity, and, having more experience in land gobbling than we, chose some of the nicest of tid-bits for herself.

We reached the Pacific, moreover, in a roundabout way, and passed over the American Desert, not finding it to our

immediate taste at the time. We then found ourselves, as we supposed, cut off from our western possessions and in endeavoring to hit upon a more suitable route to these parts, we recognized that our old rival barred the way. We at once set up a great hue and cry, but suddenly discovering that our own desert was passable after all, and not so useless as we had fancied it to be, we rested content for the while, being loath to take issue with so powerful an opponent.

Professor Turner now tells us that our American frontier has vanished. Our land is already occupied, and we are hungry again for more. True, we could crowd up a bit, but then Americans never could endure crowded conditions. We believe with Aristotle, that the best form of a democracy is that of an agricultural people, living for the most part away from the towns. Our republican institutions demand room, for it is only when confined that they cease to act, as we expect. Rather than adapt ourselves, therefore, to the more crowded conditions of the old world, we have in every case preferred to acquire more land and spread out as before.

If we may judge from the past history of mankind, this continued land-hunger of ours, is but a proof of our vigorous nationality, and not by any means to be looked upon with moral suspicion. Our nation is still growing, and our desire for Cuba and Hawaii must, therefore, be regarded rather as indications of our vitality. The real difficulty lies in the fact that our desires are beginning to outstrip our means. We know now what it is to be shut in on the north, and at last we seem to be thoroughly aroused against the danger of a like contingency on the south. Up to the present the question of our control over the Isthmus has been theoretical, rather than practical. Gradually, however, we have come to feel a pressing desire not only for the canal itself in the interests of our growing commerce, but also for the control of the route as a strategic necessity, and for the lands round about as sources of further wealth.

We recognize full well, moreover, that we still have Great Britain to deal with in the matter, and are finally preparing to face the issue frankly.

We have no racial quarrel with England. On the contrary, personal relations between Englishmen and Americans are usually cordial. The question has ever been simply and solely one regarding the possession and control of territory. England has forced her way to the east, and we do not object to her dominion there, as the matter does not concern us directly. We do chafe against Great Britain's continued control over parts of this Continent however, and jealously watch her every move in these parts. In one way the advantage is distinctly on our side, for we have but one struggle for supremacy on our hands, while Great Britain has two. It might, therefore, be good politics for us to assert ourselves, if not in conjunction, at least contemporaneously with England's eastern rival, Russia, and thus bring a double pressure to bear against Great Britain at the same time. At any rate, the issue is bound to come sooner or later, if the American nation is to grow, and, if I might risk a prophecy, I should venture to predict that it will be drawn ere long to the south of us, along the proposed route of the Nicaragua Canal.

A show of force is as good as force itself in these days, and force moreover is typified in our time by money as well as arms. England has already demonstrated both these truths again and again in her successful career, and we might do well in this case to learn from our rival. My idea would, therefore, be to let the Clayton-Bulwer treaty stand as it is, and to proceed at once, either as a nation or a government to construct the Nicaragua Canal, with money of our own. What we possess, we would certainly have a right to defend, and though we did not deny any theoretical control England might claim under the terms of the treaty, she would probably find it extremely difficult to assert her supremacy over land and a waterway which belonged exclusively to us. By



owning the majority of the stock of the Suez Canal, England has had little difficulty in maintaining her control of this route. Let us profit by the example, therefore, and establish our own supremacy over America's canal in somewhat the same way.

LINDLEY M. KEASBEY.

*Bryn Mawr College.*



### THE ADVANTAGES OF THE NICARAGUA ROUTE.\*

The engineering details of the Nicaragua Canal route are contained in reports extending over a series of twenty years, and culminate in the perfected location of 1890. The line has been surveyed and re-surveyed, the most important problems have been passed upon by prominent experts, and it remains to-day, the most feasible route through which ships will pass from the Atlantic to the Pacific.† A discussion of the advantages of the route of the canal as at present located includes a consideration of (1) the Lake of Nicaragua, its advantages to an isthmian canal, and (2) its approaches, natural and artificial.

During the early days of October, in the year 1870, a moderate sized steamer, drawing ten feet of water, left New York harbor, and within a month, anchored in an inland sea within eleven miles of the Pacific Ocean. A sailor going aloft upon the mast of that steamer would, at the height of forty-two feet, have been above the summit of the divide between the vessel and the Pacific, and might have seen the spars of a vessel at anchor in Brito roadstead, the western terminus of the Nicaragua Canal. I was on board the steamer and was forcibly impressed with the feasibility of cutting through that low barrier, of deepening the outlet to the eastward, so as to provide an interoceanic waterway for the fleets of the world. Several years afterward, I was, for one hundred and twelve days, out of sight of all land, trying to reach Narragansett Bay from San Francisco.

Within a distance of twenty miles northward and westward of the place where this steamer was anchored on Lake Nicaragua, is one of the richest regions of the globe.

\*Discussion at the Thirtieth Scientific Session of the Academy, November 13, 1895.

† For a description of the route to be followed by the Nicaragua Canal, and for a history of the Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua, consult pages 137-141 of the monograph on "Inland Waterways: Their Relation to Transportation," by Emory R. Johnson, published as a supplement to the *ANNALS*, September, 1893.

Three miles from the lake are the indigo plantations of Rivas, the "pilas" or vats for soaking the plants built of the lime with which the locality abounds. The concrete used in constructing these vats is as smooth as porcelain, as hard as marble, and as old as the Spanish conquest, the continued stability of the vats attesting the freedom of the locality from volcanic disturbance. Farther on are the cacao plantations as valuable as they are beautiful; while here and there in the vicinity of the towns are the sugar haciendas and the coffee lands, interspersed with farms devoted to the culture of the plantain, the banana and the orange.

The Central American Cordilleras exist in one unbroken chain the entire length of the isthmus, but at one point, and that point near Rivas, they sink to the lowest elevation on the American Continent, becoming simply hills which skirt the Pacific shore. As the highlands to the westward lose their altitude, the valleys to the eastward gain in extent, forming a basin into which the mountains of Costa Rica and Nicaragua pour the vast amount of water which drains from their lofty sides.

This basin is the Lake of Nicaragua, or Granada. It covers an area one hundred and ten miles long by forty broad; is in places over one hundred fathoms deep; contains a channel from its eastern to its western extremity, capable of floating the largest ships; is only one hundred and ten feet above the ocean; and by reason of its magnitude, is subject to none of those *extreme changes of level so common to all bodies of water situated in the tropics*. Freshets never occur, either in the lake or in the San Juan, for the first sixty-four miles of its course. It is the only river of the tropics not subject to sudden rises. It flows through a narrow valley the greater part of the sixty-four miles, with an average depth to-day of forty feet during the last eighteen miles. It has no large tributary streams swelling its current, and a dam of fifty-two feet is perfectly practicable near the

San Carlos river. With this dam built, continuous lake and river navigation can be secured for one hundred and thirty miles; leaving only forty miles of actual canal and artificial basins. I emphasize this point because one of the objections raised against the Nicaragua route is its length. Every seafaring man will acknowledge that one hundred and thirty miles of smooth water navigation would be preferable to the "northers" of the Gulf of Mexico, and the tropical calms obtaining north and south of Nicaragua, beyond the trade-wind belt. Commanders of iron vessels also know what advantages there will be in ridding their ships from barnacles.

Lake Nicaragua is a reservoir capable of supplying a uniform and practically inexhaustible amount of water. The gauges of the San Juan showing a flow of over nine hundred million cubic feet per day. The lake is also of great importance, as it divides the canal into two distinct sections, and consequently eliminates any danger from a "block." Vessels will be locked directly up to the lake, where they can remain quietly at anchor in fresh water, loading under the lee of the numerous islands with the products of the country, repairing any damages with timber of the best quality, or provisioning for the coming ocean voyage. The lake is then the great port of the canal and in considering the question of harbors at either terminus, it will be well to remember that they can be limited in size to the accommodation of the few ships which may daily arrive. This is specially true for the Pacific division, for if the weather prove inclement, the outgoing vessels can remain in the lake, and be locked down the sixteen miles whenever desirable.

The outlet of the lake to the eastward is the San Juan River. Sixty-four miles from the lake the river passes between two sharply defined hills. Here, at Ochoa, a dam is to be built, raising the stream to the lake level.

I well remember when Mr. Menocal, the distinguished engineer who has given his life to this work on the isthmus,

informed me several years ago of his fear that the raised waters of the San Juan might overflow by some lateral channel near the dam before they reached the crest of the dam. That fear was well founded, for a small creek was found entering the left bank of the river. The engineering party examined the creek and discovered a break in the hills some two miles above the proposed dam, beyond which lay an extended valley shaped like a huge Y, the left or westerly arm of the Y resting in the hills near the Ochoa creek, its right or easterly arm stretching toward the Atlantic. Was the river to be raised only to waste itself over these miles of swamp, and thus neutralize and destroy the canal? Once more the parties examined the valley, and at the end of three months of perfected labor discovered, that down the western arm of the Y flowed the river San Francisco, almost parallel with the San Juan, but separated from it by a range of hills, while through the eastern arm ran another small stream; the two uniting at a point nine miles from Ochoa. Here, at the stem of the Y, it was perfectly practicable to build an embankment. Thus was made possible a large reduction in the original estimates, for the whole valley of the San Francisco is to be made a submerged basin. The San Juan waters are to be backed around through the San Francisco valley, and the summit level will be made one hundred and fifty-two and one-half miles long instead of one hundred and thirty. Solid natural walls of rock enclose this basin to the northeast. The hills to the east of this artificial basin form the great divide. It is proposed to make a cut through this divide one hundred feet deep and three miles long. The summit level will end with three locks, cut in solid stone near its eastern end. They bring the canal to the ocean level and within nine miles of the Caribbean Sea. This cut through the divide is not a misfortune but an advantage, because the rock obtained from the cut will be needed in constructing the Ochoa dam and the breakwater at Greytown.

The remaining work is simply dredging through a swamp, and out to the deep water off the coast, the restoration of Greytown Harbor having been proved a simple problem, as I prophesied twenty-three years ago it would be.

When the canal is completed the harbor of Greytown will extend to the foot of the hills. Here upon their undulating, healthful sides will be the future city and port. Mounting the three locks, a ship in transit will enter the Deseado basin, and after passing through the divide cut, will be in the broad waters of the flooded San Francisco valley, which is practically an extension of the great lake to this point, thence the ship will steam with favoring trade winds up the deepened San Juan and, crossing the lake, will continue, still on the summit level, for fifteen miles past the western shore of the lake, the last five miles being through the Tola basin. This basin covers four thousand acres, and lies within three miles of the coast. From the basin the vessel will be locked down to the level of the Pacific. Such is the route decided upon after years of research. Each year bettering the line physically and financially, until in the opinion of the company it ought to cost not more than \$70,000,000.

The waterway connecting the Atlantic and Pacific should, in some way, be under the supervision of the United States. Our destiny on the Western Hemisphere demands this. Recent indications would seem to show that England will not oppose the control of the canal by America, but will permit her citizens to unite with us in providing the funds necessary to complete the enterprise.

I do not present any definite plan as to its construction. As an American I should much prefer to see it under the control of this country; the manner of such control can be left to the wise-discretion of Congress. We, of the Nicaragua Canal companies have spent some \$4,000,000 already in the enterprise, and, with confidence in the future, will keep on with the good work, but we cannot any longer with justice to ourselves, wait for governmental action in this

country, and refuse the offers of money which come to us from Europe. The time has arrived when the leading citizens of every town must put their shoulder to the wheel, and see to it that funds are raised in the United States, unless the people are willing to allow Europeans to have a large minority interest in the canal.

J. W. MILLER.

*New York City.*



## THE NICARAGUA CANAL AND THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.\*

The economic influences exerted by such a waterway as the Nicaragua Canal are, in general, two. First, the inter-oceanic canal will give a wider market to our raw materials obtained by agriculture, mining, forestry, and the other extractive industries; second, the waterway will assist American manufactures by cheapening the expense of transportation, thus reducing the costs of raw materials used, and giving the finished goods a wider range of markets. By means of lower costs, American manufacturers will be enabled to compete more successfully both for home and foreign markets. Briefly stated, the general economic effects of the Nicaragua Canal will be to stimulate the production of raw materials and to increase our manufactures. Both of these results will inevitably follow the lessening of the costs of transportation and the extension of the limits within which our raw and finished products are marketable.

In measuring more closely the influences which the Nicaragua Canal will exert upon our economic welfare, it is of assistance to analyze the more important services which this waterway will perform, in providing American industries with a new and efficient highway by water for our domestic commerce, in supplying the foreign trade of the eastern and central parts of the United States with a shorter and more direct route to the countries bordering on the Pacific, and by giving the foreign trade of our own Western States a shorter highway to European ports.

In calculating the effects which the Nicaragua Canal will produce in the development of domestic industry and commerce, it is first to be noted that our industrial situation is

\* Discussion at the Thirtieth Scientific Session of the Academy, November 13, 1895.



such, and the waterway is to be so located that its construction will exert a beneficial economic influence upon almost every section of our country. For this reason it becomes a work of national importance. The economic benefits of the Canal accruing, as they will, to the entire country, the construction of the Canal becomes a matter in which the United States as a whole has a direct interest economically, and politically.

It needs but a brief survey of the industrial conditions of the different sections of our country to discover how closely the construction of the Canal is connected with our future economic development. The northeastern part of the United States is our most important manufacturing region. By means of an inter-oceanic canal the finished products of the mills and factories of this region would be given more ready access to the developing markets of our Western States and of the foreign countries bordering upon the Pacific Ocean. In the southern part of the United States the industries are as yet essentially extractive in character. The growing of cotton is still the leading industry of the South, and the South has shown itself capable of producing far beyond the possibilities of marketing. The extractive industries of coal and iron mining are fast developing in the South, and in connection with them manufacturing industry has begun a rapid growth. The South is at present anxious to find wider markets for agricultural products, for her coal and iron, and before long she, as well as the northeastern part of the United States, will feel the need of more extensive domestic and foreign markets for her manufactured goods.

The States of the Pacific Slope are more cut off from the markets in the rest of the United States than are the States of any other section of the country. The far West is the region in which farming, the production of lumber, and the raising of stock are the leading industries. This region has urged more strongly than any other the necessity of connecting the eastern and western parts of the United States by a

highway for commerce such as the Nicaragua Canal would provide, because under the present conditions of transportation, by rail over the mountains, or by the circuitous water route around Cape Horn, the greater portion of her productions are shut out of the best markets for such articles as the West has to sell. The States of the Pacific Slope are anxious to obtain access to the manufacturing regions of the United States and Europe.

There is no other part of the United States, however, that will gain so much by the construction of the Nicaragua Canal as will our Northern States about the Great Lakes and in the upper Mississippi Valley. This is a region of most varied industrial activity. Great agriculturally, it has immense quantities of lumber, and the richest iron mines in our country; while in close proximity to the Lakes lies the most productive part of our bituminous coal fields. As a result of these gifts of nature to this part of the United States, the region is developing with marvelous rapidity in manufacture and in commerce. One need not repeat the story of the growth of Buffalo, Cleveland, and other industrial and commercial cities bordering upon Lake Erie, nor recall the rapid strides which Duluth and Superior are making at the present time. Chicago is the greatest of the Lake cities, and besides being the great centre for the collection of the products of the northwest and for the distribution of the goods which are shipped to the northwest, she is a city with a commerce larger than that of New York, and with manufactures developing so rapidly that she threatens to eclipse Philadelphia as a manufacturing centre. The manufacturing region of the United States is spreading from the northern Atlantic coast westward and southward, and the Trans-Allegheny States are entering upon a complex industrial life.

Such is the present situation of St. Paul, Minneapolis, Chicago, Cleveland, and the other leading cities of the upper Mississippi Valley and the Lake region. The future promises to make their industrial situation even more favorable.

Chicago is at present constructing a drainage canal between Lake Michigan and the Des Plaines River which will throw a sufficient volume of water into that river and the Illinois to make possible the construction of the fourteen-foot waterway between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River. Obviously the economic services of the Nicaragua Canal will be greatly enhanced by the completion of the Chicago drainage canal; for the natural sequence of the opening of the Chicago drainage canal will be the conversion of the river waterway across Illinois into one having a channel fourteen feet in depth. How favorably will Chicago then be situated for marketing her products! To the east she will have a twenty-foot waterway by the Lakes to Buffalo, and a nine-foot water channel across the State of New York to New York City. To the south she will have a fourteen-foot waterway to New Orleans, from New Orleans an ocean highway to South America and the Pacific States. St. Paul and Minneapolis, to a lesser degree, will share in the good fortune of Chicago and other lake ports. The people of Chicago are well aware of the value which the Nicaragua Canal will be to them, and have begun to take a very lively interest in the promotion of the enterprise.

The influence which the Nicaragua Canal will exert upon our foreign commerce probably appeals more strongly to the average man than does the effect which it will exercise upon domestic industry and domestic trade. All persons are agreed as to the desirability, if not the necessity, of increasing our foreign trade. The time has come, in the economic development of the United States, when industrial advancement requires an increase in our foreign markets. We are now capable of producing far more than can be consumed at home. We have progressed so far in securing command of our rich supplies of raw materials that we are more than able to satisfy our own demands for finished products, and the industrial effort of the present and future should be increasingly devoted to the conversion of these raw materials

into consumable articles to be sold abroad. In other words, we must become more and more a commercial nation trading in foreign markets. The wisest industrial policy for the United States is one that will secure that result. Success in this endeavor will depend upon the same forces that have given ourselves and foreign nations prosperity in the past. The three chief factors in industrial and commercial success and progress are the enterprise and thrift of business men, the provision of adequate facilities for technical and liberal business education, and the establishment of ample facilities for shipping and transportation.

In view of the fact that we ought to secure markets abroad, it is most gratifying to learn from the recent statistics of our commerce, that we are of late succeeding in securing a larger sale for American goods outside of our own country. We have evidently reached a degree of technical development that enables us to compete with foreign countries successfully in several branches of manufacture.

The following statistics show the extent to which the sale of our manufactures abroad has recently increased in importance as compared with the sale of our raw materials.

The report of the Bureau of Statistics, covering the period of 1895 up to October, shows that the value of our exports of manufactures have considerably increased during the first nine months of this year as compared with 1894; while the value of agricultural products exported decreased in amount both for the month of September and for the first nine months of this year as compared with these periods for 1894. The value of our exports of manufactures has increased both in its amount and in its percentage of our total exports. For the first nine months of this year our exports of manufactures were worth \$145,793,586. During these months of 1894 we exported \$133,378,609 worth. The figures for 1895 cover 26.68 per cent of the total value of our exports. In 1894 the percentage was only 23.72 per cent. A part of the decrease in the value of agricultural

products was due to the low price of cotton, wheat and wheat flour; but in several instances there was a decrease both in quantity and value, while in a few cases quantity and value have increased, *e. g.*, fruits and nuts. The articles of manufacture in which there has been the most marked progress are iron and steel products, such as machinery, engines, cars and farm implements; but there are many others showing a significant increase. It is not safe to base conclusions entirely on the basis of the statistics of 1894 and 1895, for those years were not entirely normal. Nevertheless they confirm the indisputable fact that we are rapidly losing our former position of exceptional advantage in the production of agricultural commodities. As the Secretary of Agriculture has recently said: "Competition between the sellers of agricultural products in the markets of the world is becoming more universal and intense from year to year. In wheat the United States must compete for sales with the Argentine Republic, the Russian Empire, Australia, and sometimes with India." In such circumstances the evidence of progress in manufactures is especially gratifying. *Brad-streets* of October 19, 1895, rightly says "the most encouraging features in the exports' statement are in the large shipments of articles of domestic manufacture or production, other than those produced on the farm."

It is also an interesting fact that our exports of mining and forest products show a similar increase this year as compared with last. These figures show that we are becoming less distinctively agricultural in our economic organization, and are beginning to take on a more and more complex industrial activity. This is conclusive evidence of the fact that we must pursue a policy of promoting commerce. The rapid development of the United States industrially calls for a corresponding growth in our commerce.

The amount of foreign commerce which will be affected by the opening of the Nicaragua Canal is estimated to be larger than that now served by the Suez Canal, the most

important ocean-ship waterway ever constructed. The actual amount of tonnage that would have been entirely tributary to the Canal, had it been in existence in 1890, was 4,133,470 tons. The total traffic which the Canal would obtain, basing the estimates upon the statistics of commerce for the years 1889 and 1890, amounts to 8,296,625 tons. If to this estimate be added the normal increase which commerce may be expected to have before the Canal is opened, it is estimated that about 9,000,000 tons will make use of the waterway as soon as it is opened. The present traffic of the Suez Canal is a little over 8,000,000 tons.\*

The distances which the opening of the Nicaragua Canal will save to the commerce making use of it, are much greater than those saved by the Suez Canal. The greatest gain in distance made by commerce in using the Suez Canal, is 4481 miles, the amount by which the route between Liverpool and Bombay is shortened. The Nicaragua Canal, on the other hand, will shorten the distance between New York and San Francisco by 10,000 miles. The following table shows how the length of commercial routes will be modified by the Canal:

*Table showing distances in statute miles between commercial parts of the world and distances saved by the Nicaragua Canal.*

| From                     | Via Cape Horn. | Via Cape of Good Hope. | Via Nicaragua Canal | Distance Saved. |
|--------------------------|----------------|------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
|                          | Miles.         | Miles.                 | Miles.              | Miles.          |
| New York to—             |                |                        |                     |                 |
| San Francisco, . . . . . | 14,840         | . . .                  | 4,760               | 10,080          |
| Bering Strait, . . . . . | 16,100         | . . .                  | 7,882               | 8,218           |
| Alaska, . . . . .        | 15,300         | . . .                  | 6,682               | 8,618           |
| Acapulco, . . . . .      | 13,071         | . . .                  | 3,122               | 9,949           |
| Mazatlan, . . . . .      | 13,631         | . . .                  | 3,682               | 9,949           |
| Hong-Kong, . . . . .     | 18,180         | 15,201                 | 11,038              | 4,163           |
| Yokohama, . . . . .      | 17,679         | 16,190                 | 9,363               | 6,827           |
| Melbourne, . . . . .     | 13,502         | 13,290                 | 10,000              | 3,290           |

\*The Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua has made a detailed calculation of the tonnage which will make use of the canal. This was printed in the Senate Report, No. 331, Fifty-third Congress, 2d Session. This report contains much other information.



NICARAGUA CANAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. 45

TABLE—Continued.

| From                                | Via Cape Horn. | Via Cape of Good Hope. | Via Nicaragua Canal | Distance Saved |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|------------------------|---------------------|----------------|
|                                     | <i>Miles.</i>  | <i>Miles.</i>          | <i>Miles.</i>       | <i>Miles.</i>  |
| New York to—                        |                |                        |                     |                |
| New Zealand, . . . . .              | 12,550         | 14,125                 | 8,680               | 3,870          |
| Sandwich Islands, . . . . .         | 14,230         | . . .                  | 6,388               | 7,842          |
| Callao, . . . . .                   | 10,689         | . . .                  | 3,713               | 6,976          |
| Guayaquil, . . . . .                | 11,471         | . . .                  | 3,053               | 8,418          |
| Valparaiso, . . . . .               | 9,750          | . . .                  | 4,700               | 5,050          |
| New Orleans to—                     |                |                        |                     |                |
| San Francisco, . . . . .            | 15,052         | . . .                  | 4,047               | 11,005         |
| Acapulco, . . . . .                 | 13,283         | . . .                  | 2,409               | 10,874         |
| Mazatlan, . . . . .                 | 13,843         | . . .                  | 2,969               | 10,874         |
| Guayaquil, . . . . .                | 11,683         | . . .                  | 2,340               | 9,343          |
| Callao, . . . . .                   | 10,901         | . . .                  | 3,000               | 7,901          |
| Valparaiso, . . . . .               | 9,962          | . . .                  | 3,987               | 5,975          |
| Liverpool to—                       |                |                        |                     |                |
| San Francisco, . . . . .            | 14,690         | . . .                  | 7,508               | 7,182          |
| Acapulco, . . . . .                 | 11,921         | . . .                  | 5,870               | 7,051          |
| Mazatlan, . . . . .                 | 13,481         | . . .                  | 6,430               | 7,051          |
| Melbourne, . . . . .                | 13,352         | 13,140                 | 12,748              | 392            |
| New Zealand, . . . . .              | 12,400         | 13,975                 | 11,349              | 1,051          |
| Hong-Kong, . . . . .                | 18,030         | 15,051                 | 13,786              | 1,265          |
| Yokohama, . . . . .                 | 17,529         | 16,040                 | 12,111              | 3,929          |
| Guayaquil, . . . . .                | 11,321         | . . .                  | 5,890               | 5,431          |
| Callao, . . . . .                   | 10,539         | . . .                  | 6,461               | 4,078          |
| Valparaiso, . . . . .               | 9,600          | . . .                  | 7,448               | 2,152          |
| Sandwich Islands, . . . . .         | 14,080         | . . .                  | 9,136               | 4,944          |
| Spain to Manilla, . . . . .         | 16,900         | 13,951                 | 13,520              | 431            |
| France to Tonquin, . . . . .        | 17,750         | 15,201                 | 13,887              | 1,314          |
| Hamburg to—                         |                |                        |                     |                |
| Mazatlan, . . . . .                 | 13,931         | . . .                  | 6,880               | 7,051          |
| Acapulco, . . . . .                 | 13,371         | . . .                  | 6,320               | 7,051          |
| Fonseca, . . . . .                  | 11,430         | . . .                  | 5,530               | 5,900          |
| Punta Arenas, Costa Rica, . . . . . | 11,120         | . . .                  | 5,515               | 5,605          |

It is in the influence which the Nicaragua Canal will exert upon our trade with the countries adjacent to the Pacific Ocean that the waterway will do most to benefit our foreign commerce. These are the countries in whose markets we can most readily increase the sale of the productions of our developing manufactures. They require large



quantities of manufactured goods such as we can supply. At present our foreign trade is chiefly with the ports of the Atlantic, that is with countries having industrial conditions which we are steadily acquiring and have largely attained. The future development of the South American and Oriental countries will inevitably increase the foreign commerce of the Pacific States. The Nicaragua Canal will give us a decided advantage over other nations in the competitive international struggle which is certain to take place to secure this developing trade.\*

In considering the economic aspects of the Nicaragua Canal, the question naturally arises, whether the capital required to construct the waterway will prove a good investment. The Suez Canal has proven one of the most profitable enterprises of recent times. In spite of the financial depression of 1893 and 1894 the share holders received 18 per cent in dividends each year. The original shares of the company, issued at 500 francs, now sell for about 3250 francs, in other words, at 550 per cent premium. There is every reason to believe that the Nicaragua Canal ought to prove an equally paying investment. Improved machinery has greatly lessened the cost of construction, and engineering science is now capable of accomplishing much greater results by the same expenditure of capital. The amount of traffic on the Nicaragua Canal will equal or exceed that of the Suez Canal, the cost of administration ought to be less, because the Suez Canal has to contend with the drifting sands of the desert. The present tolls on the Suez Canal are \$1.90 a ton. Most of the traffic which will make use of the Nicaragua Canal can bear a charge of \$2.00 a ton, if such a heavy toll is necessary.

\* The industrial and commercial influences which the Nicaragua Canal will exert are set forth in a suggestive way by Professor Lindley M. Keasbey in his monograph, "*Der Nicaragua-Kanal, Geschichte und Beurtheilung des Projekts.*" Consult also the author's monograph on "Inland Waterways: Their Relation to Transportation," chapter xiii of which deals with the "Economic Significance to the United States of the Extension of Inland Waterways," published as a supplement to the ANNALS, September, 1893.

Such are some of the benefits which the opening of the Nicaragua Canal will exert upon our home industries and domestic commerce and upon our trade with foreign nations. In what way, it may be well to ask, can the immediate burdens which the construction of the Canal will place upon the people of the United States be most economically borne? Such a work as this can be carried out only by expending large amounts of capital. The construction of the Canal ought to be carried through as cheaply as possible that the present burden may be made no heavier than is necessary, and that the operation of the Canal in the future may not, because of an over-capitalization, needlessly burden commerce and industry. The Canal will cost less if constructed by the government, or with the assistance of the government's credit given with proper safeguards, than it will cost if constructed by a private company without the help of the government. The United States may safely give a canal company financial support, provided the government controls the stock of the company. The best economic services of the Canal in the future will be subserved by a liberal support of the measure on the part of the government. Whether the United States had better construct the Canal directly or by means of a private company is a question to be settled chiefly upon diplomatic considerations.

The opening of the Nicaragua Canal will give a new route to a large part of the traffic which now moves by rail across the United States. Will the transcontinental railroads suffer because of the completion of the Canal? May they look with favor upon the construction of such a waterway? Although the officials of certain transcontinental railroads have opposed the Canal project, this question is one on which there ought to be no difference of opinion. Such an important waterway as this would benefit rather than injure the present transcontinental lines.

The traffic which would pass through the waterway would be mostly created by itself. The waterway would take from

the railroads a part of the freight that is at present moved by them, but would in return give much more than it took. In fact, I believe the only thing that can place the transcontinental railroads upon a sound business basis is the construction of the Nicaragua Canal. This will develop the region on both sides of the Rocky Mountains; will largely increase the total amount of trade, and make possible the development of a much greater amount of higher grades of traffic which are more advantageously moved by rail than by water. Thus, as the great trunk lines connecting the Atlantic seaboard with the lake ports and the cities of the northwest have found their traffic benefited by the improvement of the Great Lakes, so will the opening of the Nicaragua Canal give to the transcontinental lines a more profitable traffic and do more than anything else can to put those roads upon a sound financial basis.\*

This brief outline of the economic influences which the Nicaragua Canal will exert upon the United States, has stated the general economic condition of the different sections of the United States with the purpose of showing that the industrial and commercial benefits of the Canal will be shared by all parts of our country. The good effect which the waterway will have upon our foreign commerce has been indicated. These benefits, it is also claimed, can be secured without doing injury to existing means of transportation, indeed, it is asserted that they will share in the benefits conferred by the Canal. Industrially and commercially our future development is largely conditioned upon the early construction of the Nicaragua Canal.

EMORY R. JOHNSON.

\* Cf. chapters v and vi of the monograph on "Inland Waterways: Their Relation to Transportation."

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE ACADEMY.

[Continued from p. 965, Vol. IV. of the ANNALS.]

The Twenty-second Scientific Session of the Academy was held February 8, 1894. On that evening President J. Franklin Crowell, of Trinity College, N. C., read a paper on the "Co-operative Study of Political Ethics," which was discussed by Professor F. H. Giddings and others.

The Twenty-third Session was held March 16, 1894. Mr. E. L. Godkin, of New York, editor of the *Nation*, read a paper on "Problems of Municipal Government." The paper was discussed by Mr. E. Kelly, secretary of the City Club of New York, by Dr. L. S. Rowe and other speakers. At the close of the scientific proceedings a reception was tendered to Mr. Godkin.

The Twenty-fourth Session was held April 20, 1894. The speaker of the evening was Dr. John Graham Brooks, who addressed the Academy on "The Future Problem of Charity and the Unemployed."

At the Twenty-fifth Session, held May 11, 1894, the speaker was Mr. Edward Porritt, of Farmington, Conn., who read a paper on the "Break-up of the Old System of Two Parties in the House of Commons."

The liquor problem received the attention of the Academy at its Twenty-sixth Session, held October 25, 1894. Dr. E. R. L. Gould, of Baltimore, whose Report to the Department of Labor on the Gothenburg System of Liquor Traffic is widely known, spoke on the "Liquor Problem and its Scientific Treatment."

The following session (the Twenty-seventh) held on November 27, 1894, was devoted to educational questions. Provost C. C. Harrison, of the University of Pennsylvania, presided. Professor Simon N. Patten read a paper on the "Teaching of Political Economy in the Public Schools."

The paper gave rise to a discussion, which was participated in by Dr. Edward Brooks, Superintendent of Schools, President C. DeGarmo, of Swarthmore College, President George H. Cliff, of the Girls' Normal School, Dr. James Mackenzie, of the Lawrenceville School, Professor George F. James, of New York, Professor J. Monroe Willard and Mrs. J. P. Mumford.

The Twenty-eighth Session, held January 30, 1895, was devoted to Uniformity of Law. Frederic J. Stimson, Esq., of Boston, read a paper on "Uniform State Legislation on Subjects of Extra Territorial Effect."

At the Twenty-ninth Session, held March 7, 1895, Professor J. W. Jenks, of Cornell University, discussed "Proportional Representation."

The Thirtieth Session, held November 13, 1895, was devoted to the Nicaragua Canal. Professor L. M. Keasbey, of Bryn Mawr, read a paper on the "Nicaragua Canal and the Monroe Doctrine" which appears in the current number of the ANNALS. The subject was treated from the engineering point of view by Mr. J. W. Miller, of New York, while Dr. Emory R. Johnson spoke of its economic aspects. Their contributions also appear in the current number. Professor L. M. Haupt, of Philadelphia, reinforced Dr. Johnson's remarks in regard to the effect of the Canal on railways, and drew some interesting comparisons from the operations of canals actually in use and in competition with railways.

---

The following papers were presented to the Academy since the Twenty-first Scientific Session, December 20, 1893:

202. By Professor WM. I. HULL, of Swarthmore College: Wealth: The Politico-Economic Definition Historically Considered.

203. By Dr. LEO S. ROWE, Philadelphia: Some Factors of Municipal Efficiency.

204. By JAS. M. KERR, Esq., New York City: Evolution of Private Property in Land.

205. By Professor RUSSELL H. CURTIS, of the Kent Law School, Chicago: Classification of Law. Printed in the ANNALS, March, 1894.
206. By Mr. U. TAGUCHI, Tokyo: The Economic Association of the Mixed School.
207. By M. V. BALL, M. D., Philadelphia: Theft.
208. By Mrs. S. R. OBERHOLTZER, Norristown, Pa.: School Savings Banks. Printed in the ANNALS, May, 1894.
209. By Dr. MARIETTA KIES, Pittsfield, Mass.: The Woman Suffrage Victory in Colorado.
210. By Mr. ELTWEED POMEROY, Newark, N. J.: The Progressive Charge on Inheritances.
211. By Professor EDW. W. BEMIS, of the University of Chicago: Relation of Labor Organizations to the American Boy and to Trade Instruction. Printed in the ANNALS, September, 1894.
212. By Dr. E. VON HALLE, New York City: A translation of the Idea of Justice in Political Economy by Professor G. SCHMOLLER. Printed in the ANNALS, March, 1894.
213. By Mr. GEO. K. HOLMES, Census Bureau, Washington: A Decade of Mortgages. Printed in the ANNALS, May, 1894.
214. By HENRY W. WILLIAMS, Esq., Baltimore: Money and Bank Credits. Printed in the ANNALS, January, 1895.
215. By Mr. F. W. FETTER, Halle, Germany: A Neglected Factor in the Tariff Problem.
216. By Mr. C. C. SHRIVER, Baltimore: Taxation.
217. By Professor J. B. CLARK, of Amherst College: An Unfinished Study by Dr. Merriam. Printed in the ANNALS, May, 1894.
218. By Dr. H. R. SEAGER, Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania Tax Conference. Printed in the ANNALS, March, 1894.
219. By Dr. EMORY R. JOHNSON, of the University of Pennsylvania: Relation of Taxation to Monopolies. Printed in the ANNALS, March, 1894.
220. By President J. F. CROWELL, of Trinity College, N. C.: The Co-operative Study of Political Ethics.
221. By BUSHROD W. JAMES, Esq., Philadelphia: The Commercial Question and its Future.
222. By CHESTER A. REED, Esq., Boston: Peaceable Boycotting. Printed in the ANNALS, July, 1894.
223. By WM. HORGAN, Esq., Louisville, Ky.: The Attorney in Politics.
224. By R. T. COLBURN, Esq., Elizabeth, N. J.: The Pacific Railway Debts. Printed in the ANNALS, March, 1895.
225. By GAMALIEL BRADFORD, Esq., Boston, Mass.: The Reform of our State Governments. Printed in the ANNALS, May, 1894.



226. By Dr. ERNEST FREUND, Berlin: Labor Information Bureaus.
227. By E. L. GODKIN, Esq., New York: The Problems of Municipal Government. Printed in the ANNALS, May, 1894.
228. By Professor JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON, of the University of Pennsylvania: Translation of the Constitution of Prussia. Printed as a Supplement to the ANNALS, September, 1894.
229. By Dr. EDW. T. DEVINE, Philadelphia: The Economic Function of Woman. Printed in the ANNALS, November, 1894.
230. By Mr. H. T. NEWCOMB, Washington: Reasonable Railway Rates. Printed in the ANNALS, November, 1894.
231. By Professor L. M. KEASBEY, of the University of Colorado: The Tabular Standard.
232. By Professor SIMON N. PATTEN, of the University of Pennsylvania: The Failure of Biologic Sociology. Printed in the ANNALS, May, 1894.
233. By Dr. D. I. GREEN, Hartford, Conn.: Wieser's Natural Value. Printed in the ANNALS, January, 1895.
234. By Rev. Dr. JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS, Cambridge, Mass.: The Future Problem of Charity and the Unemployed. Printed in the ANNALS, July, 1894.
235. By Professor GUSTAV SCHMOLLER, of the University of Berlin; Volkswirtschaft, Volkswirtschaftslehre und Methode.
236. By Professor E. VON BÖHM-BAWERK, Vienna: The Austrian Standard of Value. Printed in the ANNALS, September, 1894.
237. By Miss J. L. BROWNELL, of Bryn Mawr College: The Significance of a Decreasing Birth-Rate. Printed in the ANNALS, July, 1894.
238. By Mr. EDWARD PORRITT, Farmington, Conn.: The Break-up of the English Party System. Printed in the ANNALS, January, 1895.
239. By F. H. COOKE, Esq., New York City: The Evolution of the Modern Stock Corporation.
240. By JOHN A. KERSEY, Esq., Marion, Ind.: The Ethics of Literature.
241. By Mr. H. E. CHAMBERS, Baltimore, Md.: Wealth and Value in Their Ultimate Analysis.
242. By Dr. F. C. CLARK, Berlin: A Neglected Socialist. Printed in the ANNALS, March, 1895.
243. By Mr. D. M. FREDERIKSEN, Chicago: Mortgage Banking in Russia. Printed in the ANNALS, September, 1894.
244. By Mr. S. B. HARDING, Richmond, Ind.: The "Minimum" Principle in the Tariff of 1828. Printed in the ANNALS, July, 1895.
245. By Mr. IRA W. HOWERTH, Chicago: Present Condition of



Sociological Thought in the United States. Printed in the ANNALS, September, 1894.

246. By Professor L. M. KEASBEY, of the University of Colorado: The Concept of Organic Social Value.

247. By Professor S. N. PATTEN, of the University of Pennsylvania: The Beginnings of Utility. Printed in the ANNALS, September, 1894.

248. By S. SOLIS-COHEN, M. D., Philadelphia: Birth-Rate and Increase of Population.

249. By Dr. C. ARNOLD LINDORME, Atlanta, Ga.: A Curious Historical Fact, and (250) Law and Morals.

251. By Mr. T. E. WILLSON, New York City: Science and a Standard of Value.

252. By Dr. EMORY R. JOHNSON, of the University of Pennsylvania: The Improvement of Country Roads in Massachusetts and New York. Printed in the ANNALS, September, 1894.

253. By Mr. S. B. HARDING, Richmond, Ind.: The Opposition in Pennsylvania to the Ratification of the Federal Constitution.

254. By EDMOND KELLY, Esq., New York City: Compulsory Colonization.

255. By Mr. C. R. BOYD, Wytheville, Va.: The Available Banking Margin.

256. By Professor JOHN R. COMMONS, of the University of Indiana: Value of Money.

257. By Professor C. A. TUTTLE, of Wabash College: The New Political Economy.

258. By Mr. SAMUEL MILLIKEN, Philadelphia: The Political Economy of Goldwin Smith.

259. By Mr. McDONALD FURMAN, Ramsey, S. C.: Indians for Indian Commissioners.

260. By Professor WM. CUNNINGHAM, of Cambridge University: Why had Roscher so Little Influence in England? Printed in the ANNALS, November, 1894.

261. By Mr. W. A. WETZEL, Ackermanville, Pa.: Franklin as an Economist.

262. By Dr. J. H. HOLLANDER, Baltimore: Concept of Marginal Rent.

263. By Mr. GEOFFREY DRAGE, London: The Royal Commission of Labor.

264. By Miss HELENA S. DUDLEY, Boston: Relief Work Carried on at the Wells Memorial Institute. Printed in the ANNALS, November, 1894.

265. By Professor F. H. GIDDINGS, of Columbia College: Utility,

Economics and Sociology. Printed in the ANNALS, November, 1894.

266. By Professor S. N. PATTEN, of the University of Pennsylvania: Economics in Elementary Schools. Printed in the ANNALS, January, 1895, and (267). Organic Concept of Society. Printed in the ANNALS, November, 1894.

268. By Dr. J. H. HOLLANDER, Baltimore: Clark's Use of "Rent" and "Profits." Printed in the ANNALS, November, 1894.

269. By Professor R. P. FALKNER, of the University of Pennsylvania: The International Congress of Hygiene and Demography. Printed in the ANNALS, November, 1894.

270. By Mr. JOHN S. DEHART, Jersey City: The Metaphysics of Money.

271. By Mr. H. J. GRANNIS, Duluth, Minn.: Should the United States Senate be Abolished?

272. By JOSEPH G. ROSENGARTEN, Esq., Philadelphia: A translation of How to Save Bimetallism, by the DUC DE NOAILLES. Printed in the ANNALS, January, 1895.

273. By Professor S. N. PATTEN, of the University of Pennsylvania: The Relation of Economics to Sociology. Printed in the ANNALS, January, 1895.

274. By Hon. J. G. BOURINOT, C. M. G., Ottawa, Canada: Elected or Appointed Officials? Printed in the ANNALS, March, 1895.

275. By Dr. S. M. LINDSAY, of the University of Pennsylvania: Sociological Field Work. Printed in the ANNALS, January, 1895.

276. By Professor ALBION W. SMALL, of the University of Chicago: Organic Concept of Society. Printed in the ANNALS, March, 1895.

277. By Professor JEROME DOWD, of Trinity College, N. C.: Political Revolution of the South.

278. By Professor G. ARANGIO RUIZ, of the University of Naples: The Amendments to the Italian Constitution. Printed in the ANNALS, September, 1895.

279. By Mr. G. F. MILTON, Chattanooga, Tenn.: Material Advancement of the Negro.

280. By Mr. C. H. LINCOLN, Philadelphia: Position of the American Representative in Congress. Printed in the ANNALS, July, 1895.

281. By Professor JOHN R. COMMONS, of Indiana University: State Supervision for Cities. Printed in the ANNALS, May, 1895.

282. By OLIVER T. MORTON, Esq., Chicago: The Labor Question in American Politics.

283. By Professor DIODATO LIOV, of the University of Turin: Outline of the Philosophy of Right.

284. By Professor FRANK FETTER, of Cornell University: Exploitation of Theories of Value in the Discussion of the Standard of Deferred Payments. Printed in the ANNALS, May, 1895.

285. By Professor H. H. POWERS, of Smith College: Terminology and the Sociological Conference. Printed in the ANNALS, March, 1895.

286. By Professor H. B. ADAMS, of Johns Hopkins University: The Tenth Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association. Printed in the ANNALS, March, 1895.

287. By Dr. H. R. SEAGER, Philadelphia: The Seventh Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association. Printed in the ANNALS, March, 1895.

288. By F. J. STIMSON, Esq., Boston: Uniformity of Legislation. Printed in the ANNALS, May, 1895.

289. By Professor GEO. W. KNIGHT, of the Ohio State University: The Political Science Association of the Central States. Printed in the ANNALS, March, 1895.

290. By Professor J. ALLEN SMITH, of Marietta College: The Multiple Money Standard.

291. By Professor F. H. GIDDINGS, of Columbia College: Sociology and the Abstract Sciences. Printed in the ANNALS, March, 1895.

292. By Dr. HERMAN SCHÖNFELD, of Columbian University: Labor Statistics of Russian Factories.

293. By Mr. J. G. ALGER, Paris: The Vitality of Dynasties.

294. By Mr. W. I. THOMAS, Chicago: Schäffle's Theory of Social Order.

295. By BOLTON HALL, Esq., New York City: The Objection to Interest.

296. By Mr. F. W. SANDERS, Chicago: Spencer's System of Ethics.

297. By B. A. ULRICH, Esq., Chicago: City Government of German Cities.

298. By Professor ALBION W. SMALL, of the University of Chicago: "Social" vs. "Societary." Printed in the ANNALS, May, 1895.

299. By Dr. EMORY R. JOHNSON, of the University of Pennsylvania: Industrial Services of the Railways. Printed in the ANNALS, May, 1895.

300. By Mr. EDW. T. PETERS, Washington: Tests of Stability in the Value of Money, and (301) A Misleading Statement of Gresham's Law.

302. By Mr. R. C. BARNETT, Kansas City, Mo.: Balance of Occupations.

303. By Mr. WM. M. SALTER, Philadelphia: Anarchy or Government in the Industrial Realm.

304. By F. S. BILLINGS, M. D., Grafton, Mass.: The Law of Might and Proprietary Rights.

305. By Dr. A. F. BENTLEY, Baltimore: The Units of Investigation in the Social Sciences. Printed in the ANNALS, May, 1895.

306. By Professor GEORGE H. HAYNES, of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute: Representation in New England Legislatures. Printed in the ANNALS, September, 1895.

307. By Dr. C. W. MACFARLANE, Philadelphia: Economic Theory in America Prior to 1776. Printed in the ANNALS, July, 1895.

308. By Professor T. N. CARVER, of Oberlin College: The Ethical Basis of Distribution and Its Application to Taxation. Printed in the ANNALS, July, 1895.

309. By Professor MARY S. BARNES, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University: History, A Definition and a Forecast. Printed in the ANNALS, July, 1895.

310. By Dr. GEORG SIMMEL, of the University of Berlin: The Problem of Sociology. Printed in the ANNALS, November, 1895.

311. By B. A. ULRICH, Esq., Chicago: A System of Municipal Government Suited to the Cities of the United States.

312. By Professor WM. C. MOREY, of the University of Rochester: Sources of American Federalism. Printed in the ANNALS, September, 1895.

313. By Mr. O. W. ZIEGLER, Baltimore: An Attempt at a True Social Statistic.

314. By Mr. L. I. GILDERSLEEVE, Beaver, Pa.: Initial Factors in the Politico-Social Problem.

315. By Mr. ARTHUR KITSON, Philadelphia: An Invariable Monetary Unit.

316. By Professor LOUIS WUARIN, of the University of Geneva: Recent Political Experiments in the Swiss Democracy. Printed in the ANNALS, November, 1895.

317. By Mr. H. T. ROOT, Grand Haven, Mich.: Marriage and Divorce.

318. By Professor J. W. JENES, of Cornell University: The Social Basis of Proportional Representation. Printed in the ANNALS, November, 1895.

319. By Professor W. M. DANIELS, of Princeton College: The Formulation of Gresham's Law. Printed in the ANNALS, September, 1895.

320. By Mr. W. LODIAN, Calcutta: Kossuth on American Politics.

321. By Professor EMORY R. JOHNSON, of the University of Penn-

sylvania: Railway Departments for the Relief and Insurance of Employes. Printed in the ANNALS, November, 1895.

322. By Mr. S. E. MOFFETT, San Francisco: The California Railroad Commission. Printed in the ANNALS, November, 1895.

323. By Mr. E. R. BUCKLEY, Madison Wis: The Custody of State Funds. Printed in the ANNALS, November, 1895.

324. By W. F. WILLOUGHBY, Esq., Washington: The Musée social. Printed in the current number of the ANNALS.

325. By Professor G. FIAMINGO, of the University of Rome: Individual Determinism and Social Science.

326. By Rev. FRANK CRANE, Omaha: The Principles of Democracy Applied to Wealth.

327. By Professor J. M. VINCENT: A translation of the Constitution of Belgium.

## BRIEFER COMMUNICATIONS.

---

### THE MUSÉE SOCIAL IN PARIS.

Under present conditions, it is not so much the lack of material as the difficulty of obtaining access to that already in existence that is the greatest obstacle in the way of accurate and satisfactory studies of actual economic conditions and institutions. Here, as in few other fields of research, the ordinary library can be utilized to little advantage. One can find there what has already been written upon a subject, but for purposes of strictly original research, it is scarcely worth a visit. The class of material that should be consulted either is not there at all, or, if possessed, is of such a nature as to defy ordinary cataloguing methods. This material consists of government reports relating to questions of industry and labor, proceedings of labor and social congresses and conventions, the constitutions and reports of private organizations and institutions such as trade-unions, co-operative societies, mutual aid funds, etc., the files of economic and statistical periodicals, the published proceedings of statistical and other kindred societies, which include the results of original research, etc.

The readers of the *ANNALS* cannot fail to be interested in a brief description of the *Musée Social*, an institution recently organized in Paris, which is, without doubt, the most remarkable effort that has been made to supply this deficiency on the part of ordinary libraries, and to render available the real sources of information concerning economic conditions and institutions.

The *Musée* owes its creation directly to the organization of sections of social economy in connection with recent international expositions. The first exposition which had such a section was that of 1867 at Paris. Le Play, the eminent economist, was directed, on that occasion, to organize a section to embrace "all documents on subjects relating to efforts to ameliorate the physical and moral condition of the population." The central feature of this section was the creation of the famous New Order of Recompenses (*Nouvel Ordre de Récompenses*) "in favor of persons, or establishments, or localities, which by the organization of special institutions had developed the



feeling of harmony among all those who co-operate in the work of production and had assured to the workingmen material, moral and intellectual advantages."\* This exposition, in which over six hundred of the most important industrial establishments of the world took part, is recognized throughout France to constitute the point of departure in the history of the modern study of social conditions.

At the exposition of Paris in 1889, the scope of the section of social economy was still further enlarged. At this exposition, there was assembled a vast quantity of documents of an original character, such as the constitutions of societies, the reports of operations of workingmen's institutions, models of workingmen's houses, statistics of old age pension and relief funds, exhibits of co-operative societies, proceedings of congresses, etc. All of this material has been digested and presented in a magnificent series of reports, each relating to a particular subject, than which, it is safe to say, there is no more valuable series of documents concerning social problems in the world.†

It was to perpetuate this work, to prevent the dispersion of these valuable documents and exhibits, and to render permanent what was until then an occasional exhibition, that the Count de Chambrun, by his generous donation of over 1,700,000 francs created the *Musée Social*. The *Musée* was not formerly inaugurated until March 25, 1895, though organized prior to that date. The *Musée Social*, then, is a privately endowed, but public institution, whose object in the language of its constitution, is "to place gratuitously at the disposition of the public documents with collateral information, models,

\* *Exposition Universelle de 1867 à Paris: Jury Special, Nouvel Ordre de Récompenses. Rapport par M. Alfred Le Roux.* Paris, 1867.

† *Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1889 à Paris. Rapports du Jury International publiés sous la Direction de M. Alfred Picard.*

*Groupe de l'Economie Sociale. "Rapport Général" par M. Léon Say.*

Section I. "*Remunération du travail*" par M. Ch. Larollée. Section II. "*Participation aux bénéfices, Associations Co-opératives de production*," par M. Charles Robert. Section III. "*Syndicats professionnels*," par M. Goffinow. Section IV. "*Apprentissage*," par M. Ch. Lucas. Section V. "*Sociétés de secours mutuels*," par M. Louis Fontaine. Section VI. "*Caisses de retraites et rentes viagères*," par M. Louis Fontaine. Section VII. "*Assurances contre, les accidents et sur la vie*," par M. L. Caubert. Section VIII. "*Caisses d'épargne*," par M. de Foville. Section IX. "*Associations Co-opératives de consommations*," par M. Raffalovich. Section X. "*Associations Co-opératives de Crédit*," par M. A. Courtois. Section XI. "*Habitations ouvrières*," par M. G. Picot. Section XII. "*Cercles d'ouvriers, Récréations et jeux*," par M. E. O. Lami. Section XIII. "*Hygiène sociale*," par M. Emile Neuman. Section XIV. "*Institutions patronales*," par M. Cheysson. Section XV. "*Grande et petite industrie, Grande et petite culture*," par M. Emile Chevallier. Section XVI. "*Intervention économique des pouvoirs publics*," par M. Léon Donnat.

constitutions, plans, etc., of institutions and organizations which have for their object and result the amelioration of the moral and material situation of the laboring classes."

To carry out these aims, the management of the *Musée* has decided upon the following lines of action: *First*, the collection of a library to contain (1) files as nearly complete as possible of all government publications relating in any way to industry and labor of every country, such as copies of laws relating to labor, reports of parliamentary or other official investigations, reports of bureaus of statistics, inspectors of mines and factories, boards of arbitration, etc.; (2) reports of labor organizations, especially the meetings of national associations, of co-operative enterprises, relief funds, etc.; (3) reports of proceedings of conventions and congresses in relation to social questions; (4) files of the publications of economic and statistical associations, and of economic and statistical periodicals and reviews, and, (5) the more important books in all languages relating to labor and social questions in their practical aspects.

*Secondly*, the *Musée* is more than a library. It is a laboratory in the broadest sense of the word. At its central quarters it has all of its material carefully arranged according to subject-matter. But as any system of cataloguing is not entirely satisfactory, the work of the *Musée* has been organized in sections, at the head of each of which is a specialist whose duties are to familiarize himself with not only the material in the possession of the *Musée*, but with the whole literature of his subject, in order that he can personally assist any one desiring to make use of the facilities of the *Musée*. Every facility for research is also provided in the way of private desk room, stationery, etc., as the library is devised not so much for casual consultation as for those desiring to make prolonged and detailed investigations. The officials, moreover, are always at the disposition of the public for the answering of communications asking assistance and advice concerning the mode of organization of any institution or work.

*Thirdly*, the *Musée* will, from time to time, as the occasion seems propitious, organize special missions in France and in foreign countries to inquire into labor subjects of present practical importance. In the autumn of 1895, two such missions were organized. The first was composed of four persons, who under the supervision of M. Paul de Rousiers, the author of "*La Question ouvrière en Angleterre*," visited England for the purpose of making an investigation and report upon trade-unions.

The second mission, at the head of which was Professor G. Blondel, had for its object the study of the agrarian question in Germany,

with especial reference to agrarian socialism and the efforts of the government to improve the condition of the agricultural classes.

These investigations are by no means mere cursory examinations in order to gain personal impressions, but represent detailed inquiries such as would be undertaken by an official bureau. Thus, for example, in the case of the latter mission, which represents an investigation of a problem of great interest at the present time in Germany, the Commission first visited the valleys of the Inn and Danube in order to study peasant associations and conditions in lower Bavaria. Westphalia and Hanover were next visited in order to observe the intimate life of the peasants in that part of Germany which more than any other has preserved the old Saxon customs, and where the fact that the conveyance of property is still influenced by ancient traditions assures to the inhabitants a situation superior to that of their neighbors. The study of small properties being completed, the Commission then visited the region of large estates situated west of the Oder. Here, the organization of the large Silesian domains and the attempts made by the Prussian Government to reconstitute, by means of the "*Relen Güter*" a middle class among the peasants of the East, were objects of especially careful investigation, a work in which the Commission was greatly aided by the assistance of the Minister of Agriculture at Berlin. Next, the Commission, thanks to the assistance of the President of the Commission for the Colonization of Interior Germany, visited and were able to study in detail the villages created by the Prussian Government in the effort to transfer to the peasants the lands formerly belonging to the Polish nobility. Throughout this investigation every effort was made to come into immediate contact with the peasants themselves, to observe upon the spot the operations of the various institutions which play so important a part in the life of the people, to study the effect of the system of insurance laws upon the agricultural population, the workings of agricultural credit associations, etc.

The activity of the *Musée* outside of France, however, has not been limited to the organization of these two missions. Following the policy of being represented at all the more important labor and social congresses and conventions, the *Musée* has been officially represented at the International Co-operative Congress of London, the Statistical Congress at Berne, the Congress of Actuaries at Brussels, the Congress of People's Banks at Bologne, the Congress in Relation to Workingmen's Houses at Bordeaux, the Trade-Union Congress at Cardiff, the Socialist Congress at Breslau and the National Congress of Corporations at Limoges.

*Fourthly*, the *Musée* will issue two series of publications for the purpose of making known to the public the more important results of its work. The first of these will consist of a series of volumes issued from time to time, under the title of *Bibliothèque du Musée Social* which will give the results of its missions and other material representing the results of original research. The second series will consist of more frequent bulletins or "*Circulaires*" as they will be called for the publication of material of a strictly documentary character. It will be in no sense a review for contributed articles. The chief features of its contents will be yearly bibliographical notes concerning economic publications, official or otherwise, and résumés of social legislation in each country written by its special correspondents, special bibliographical notes concerning particular subjects, notices regarding conventions, congresses, etc., and reprints of important laws, or other documents.

*Finally*, the *Musée* will adopt every other available method for the advancement of the study of social and economic conditions. Among these will be the holding of conferences, and the offering of money prizes for the best work on assigned subjects. Two such competitions have already been opened, one on "The Benefits of the Principles of Association for the Workingmen," and the other on "Profit Sharing," the prize in each case being \$5000 for the best work. The contest is open to all competitors, whatever the nationality or language used.

The *Musée*, then, is in its nature a central bureau of information, or a kind of international bureau of labor. It should be distinctly understood that the field of the *Musée's* activity is by no means limited to France. On the other hand, it believes that the field of its greatest usefulness will be the making known to each nation the institutions, publications, and experiences of other countries. The better to do this the *Musée* has appointed a special correspondent for each country, for in no other way could it hope to keep in touch with social movements in each or to obtain official and other publications that should be in its possession.

Concerning the usefulness of this institution the writer has already had a practical demonstration. Though the *Musée* was at that time but in the process of organization, he found the assistance of those at its head invaluable to him in the prosecution of an official investigation that he was making in the fall of 1894 for the United States Department of Labor in France and other European countries. There were placed at his disposal documents that he could not have obtained elsewhere; authorities and sources of information were indicated to him; and, above all, he was aided by

practical advice concerning the methods by which the information for which he was in search could best be obtained.

W. F. WILLLOUGHBY.

*Special Correspondent of the Musée Social in America.\**

#### THE HISTORY OF A MUNICIPAL CHARTER IN KENTUCKY.

In 1890, the Constitutional Convention after a session of eight months and considerable outside agitation submitted the results of its labors to the people who adopted the new Constitution by a large majority. At an adjourned session which lasted nearly four weeks, the Convention made some slight alterations of form. The Constitution was then formally promulgated. One of the longest articles is devoted to the regulation of municipalities. Towns and cities are divided into six classes. Cities having over one hundred thousand inhabitants are not permitted to maintain a tax-rate for purposes exceeding one dollar and fifty cents on the hundred dollars. In this the tax for schools and sinking funds is not included. In other words, a special and additional tax for educational purposes and for paying off debts existing before 1891 may be imposed. The present tax for school purposes in the city is thirty-three cents on the hundred dollars and the sinking fund tax varies from forty to eighty cents. Hence, until the bonded debt of the city has been discharged, these Constitutional limitations will be of little value. No new debt can be created or liability incurred by the city, "in any manner or for any purpose, to any amount exceeding, in any year, the income and revenue provided for such year, without the assent of two-thirds of the voters thereof voting at an election to be held for that purpose." Only one election may be held during any one year for any purpose and that must be in November. Whenever any new debt is created, a provision must be made at the same time for a tax to pay the interest and a part of the principal each year. Last year it was proposed to increase the bonded debt by one million dollars for park purposes. The proposal received a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast on that subject, but not two-thirds of all the votes cast in the same election for certain officers and now the courts must decide whether the votes cast for the bonds were sufficient.

Excepting members of the two boards constituting the General Council, nearly all important officers, including the Mayor, Police Judge, Treasurer, Tax Receiver, etc., are elected for four years.

\*The address of the *Musée* is 5 rue Las-Cases, Paris, and that of the American Bureau is 1505 Twelfth street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The members of the General Council are elected every two years by the voters of the whole city, but members of the lower board must be residents and voters of their several wards. City and State elections are held in odd years. Hence city and county elections, which are purely local in their effect, are alternately coincident with and separated from State elections and both, being held only in odd years, are kept entirely distinct from national elections. The Mayor's term, which is fixed at four years, may seem long, but the evils of frequent elections were so apparent in the past that there was but little to be said against the increase from three years. He is not re-eligible for the succeeding term.

Under the Constitution no officer's term or salary may be increased during the time for which he was elected; no invalid or unauthorized contract can be made valid or be extended; the Legislature cannot grant the use of the streets to any corporation without the consent of the General Council; no franchise or privilege can be given away gratuitously by the city; the duration of the grant is limited to twenty years, and must be sold, with reasonable restrictions and limitations, to the highest bidder at public auction.

After the adoption of the Constitution, the Mayor of the city, by the authority of the General Council, appointed a Commission of three persons to draft a charter. Mr. R. W. Knott, then one of the editors of the *Courier-Journal*; Mr. M. Cary Peter, a prominent merchant; and Edward J. McDermott, a lawyer, were selected. In this difficult task the Commission was heartily aided by the Mayor, the press, the Board of Trade, and the Commercial Club.

The Commissioners endeavored to place the public schools under the control of a small board of trustees, and to compel them to select the teachers mainly by competitive educational tests. The effort to destroy in this way, the patronage of the trustees was of little avail. The Commission also made the attempt to abolish the fee-system in the Police Department. It was said that sometimes poor but innocent persons were arrested by unscrupulous officers merely for an extra fee of two or three dollars. The better class of policemen favored the change, but politicians in the Legislature were easily persuaded to block such innovations. Reforms were also attempted in the licensing and supervision of saloons, but the Committee of the Liquor-Dealers' Association and their attorney did not favor the changes recommended. The provisions offered by the Commission were so modified by the Legislature as to make them of little value.

To make places for a few needy, but influential politicians, the city members of the Legislature inserted provisions which created



several new offices, namely: (1) a Live Stock Inspector and several deputies; and (2) a Bond Recorder, whose duty it is to take such bonds, in criminal cases, as Magistrates and the City Clerk ought to take. Other offices which the Commission in its draft had tried to regulate fairly and fully, were modified as to the term, salary or duties to suit the convenience or taste of the incumbents.

The charter in its amended form was vetoed by Governor John Young Brown on the ground of these unnecessary changes in the draft of the Commission, but mainly because he regarded the provision which allowed merchants and manufacturers to pay a license tax based on their sales, in lieu of an ad valorem tax on their property, as unconstitutional. The Charter was then freed from the features objectionable to him and approved by him July 1, 1893.

At the succeeding session of the Legislature in the beginning of 1894—before the Charter was a year old—six wholly unnecessary amendments were passed. In every instance the object of these amendments might have been accomplished by ordinances which the General Council was authorized to enact. The people knew little or nothing about these changes. As Louisville is the only city of the first-class, its organic law will for a long time be the sport or tool of factions in the State Legislature.

By the Charter the legislative department is given the broadest power. The General Council can pass any ordinance not expressly forbidden by the Constitution or the statutes of the State. No ordinance is allowed to pass both boards the same evening. This gives the citizens time to learn of important and oftentimes doubtful changes in the law. All ordinances in force must be collected by the City Attorney and printed for the public every two years. Those not published in this way expire by limitation. This prevents the resurrection, now and then, of obsolete ordinances which were found useless or were not supported by public opinion. While the Council, because it holds the purse-strings, has a check upon the Mayor and his subordinates, it has very limited executive functions. No contract that involves the expenditure of more than \$2000, is valid unless approved by the General Council; and it must approve, before payment, all claims for work done or materials furnished by the city. At the beginning of each year it receives and considers the full and exact reports, estimates and recommendations of the Mayor and his cabinet, and then supplies the funds necessary to carry on the work of the departments for the ensuing year. All important appointments by the Mayor must be approved by the Board of Aldermen, and, if seven out of the twelve oppose removal within thirty days of the notice of the same they may prevent the Mayor

from removing his appointees. The General Council elects the Assessor, the City Attorney, the Sinking Fund Commissioner, and a few other less important officers.

The Mayor is the most powerful factor in the government during the four years of his term. He has charge of all executive work, and his responsibility is made clear to the people. He appoints the Comptroller, who is his Finance Minister; the three members of the Board of Public Works; the three members of the Board of Public Safety; the City Buyer; and a few minor officers. The Board of Public Works has charge of all streets, alleys, sewers, cisterns, public buildings, etc. The parks are managed by a separate Board of six men, elected on a general ticket by the voters of the city. The Board of Public Safety has charge of the police and fire service, the City Hospital, the Almshouse, etc. These branches of the city government are conducted, to a moderate degree, on the plans recommended by civil service reformers. Members of the executive boards receive an annual salary of \$2500, but may engage in other business. They are responsible only to the Mayor, and he is responsible to the public for their work. They and the Comptroller are allowed to sit in the General Council and take part in the debates, but do not vote. The Comptroller keeps all contracts and vouchers. His books show the state of the city's liabilities and finances.

The public schools are managed by fourteen trustees, seven of whom are elected in their several districts each year. The city is compelled to levy a tax of not less than thirty-three cents on the hundred dollars each year for the schools, and this sum is added to the city's proportionate share of the school-fund raised by State taxation. The trustees elect all officers of the Board, all professors of the High School, the Manual Training School, the Normal School for Teachers, the Commercial Class School and also the principals and teachers of the ward schools. Because of the large number of trustees, responsibility is divided, and too much room is left for favoritism in the distribution of patronage. The teachers in the schools are not selected entirely or even mainly by an educational test. Still the schools, on the whole, are well managed. Many men connected with their administration are able and upright, and most zealous in the discharge of their duties.

No fees are allowed in the Police Court, which tries offenders for violation of ordinances, and which holds an examining court for offences against the statutes of the State. Petty offenders are no longer compelled to pay costs heavier than their fines. Liquor licenses are granted by a License Board consisting of the Judge of

the Police Court, who is elected by the people; the chairman of the Board of Public Safety, who is appointed by the Mayor; and the chairman of the Sinking Fund Commission, elected by the Commission, who in their turn are elected by the General Council. The local license fee is \$150, and a bond to keep an orderly house is required of all saloon keepers. Protests by citizens against the granting of licenses are carefully heard by the Board.

One of the most interesting questions which arose in the framing of the Charter concerned the subject of taxation. Under the new Constitution, as held by our Court of Appeals in the case of *Levi et al. v. City of Louisville*,\* the personal property of manufacturers, merchants, and traders, must be assessed and taxed according to the fair cash value of their property. The Charter prepared by the Commission was so drawn as to substitute a system of license-taxes in lieu of ad valorem taxes. The former were based upon the volume of business done, or the amount of sales made, by traders, merchants and manufacturers because it was thought that the amount of sales could not well be concealed and that most business men would rather over-state than under-state their business. The Governor, however, held that the Constitution imperatively required the taxation of all property according to its value, and hence his veto followed. Subsequently the Charter was so amended as to conform to his views, for the most part, and he then signed it. After it became a law, the General Council of the city, thinking it ruinous to tax traders, merchants and manufacturers of all kinds according to the cash value of their property, and thinking that the Charter even as changed to suit the Governor's opinion allowed them a discretion in the matter, passed an ordinance which provided that the classes mentioned should be taxed only according to the volume of their business. There was no doubt that the citizens at large much preferred the license system. Some property owners, insisted that the taxation of personal property in stores and factories by a license-system based on the sales of the owners was unfair to the owners of real estate and consequently they took the question to the courts. One of the judges of the Circuit Court in Louisville held that the Constitution allowed either system; another held that the Legislature had no discretion in the matter. The Court of Appeals on May 4, 1895, in the case mentioned above, decided that the city, under the language of the Constitution, could tax property only by the ad valorem system according to its fair cash value. In 1894, before the decision had been rendered, the city took the

\* 16th Kentucky Law Reporter, 872, May 4, 1895.

precaution to assess all real estate and personal property according to the ad valorem system, but it nevertheless taxed merchants and manufacturers only according to the amount of their business by a system of licenses based on sales. After the decision of the Court of Appeals, the General Council had new tax-bills made out on the basis of the old assessment; and credited on the new bills the amount paid by merchants and manufacturers on the previous assessment. It appears that the city will get more taxes from the merchants under the ad valorem system than it would have gotten under the license system; but it is not improbable that hereafter our manufacturers and merchants may be seriously affected. The experience of other cities would seem to indicate that this system will lead to general undervaluations. Personal property is so easily concealed that any attempt to assess it at its fair value, will always cause much of it to be hidden away and perjury to be committed.

The new Charter of Louisville while not perfect, would give satisfaction, perhaps, if it were efficiently executed. The General Council of Louisville has been composed of a majority of men totally unfit for such places and only a minority thoroughly familiar with the city's affairs and able and willing to render it good service. During the last two years there have been unseemly wrangles between members of the General Council and the executive boards. It was said that some members of the General Council were constantly trying to use their power in obstructing claims and contracts and the payment of salaries, in order to compel the granting of favors to them or their friends in the making of appointments and in the letting of profitable contracts. Several times during the last two years corruption of the worst form has been discovered in the General Council. The public were for a time moved to action, but such things are very soon forgotten or fail to arouse the citizens to consistent, and persevering efforts for reform. At the last election in November only a few of the old members of the General Council were nominated by the Democratic party and in their places a really excellent set of men were offered. They were all defeated, however, by the Republican ticket which could boast five or six good names, but was, in the main, composed of obscure, inexperienced men. How good municipal government can be obtained when members of the General Council are elected, in this way, and on other than municipal issues, passes comprehension.

To sum up the experience of Louisville in a very few words it may be said: First, there is a need of the more definite assertion of the right, on the part of private citizens, to appeal to the courts, to punish any officer who neglects his duty, or to stop any unauthorized

expenditure of money or to prevent the creation of any unauthorized obligation; secondly, it would seem that a State Constitution should contain a few general limitations on the rights and powers of municipalities; that each city be permitted to frame its own charter, and to submit it to a popular vote; that after its approval by the people, it should be subject to the approval and acceptance of the Legislature for the protection of the general interests of the State; and that thereafter it should not be changed except by the vote of the people themselves. The Charter thus made and approved by the citizens, should contain only a few general regulations, a mere framework; all legislation necessary for the proper conduct of the municipality, being provided by ordinances passed by the General Council of the city. In other words, the Legislature of the State ought not to be permitted to regulate municipal affairs except so far as they concern matters of more general and State concern. Under such circumstances each city would have as good a Charter and as good a government as it deserved or as it really wanted. Its laws or ordinances would then be made by representatives chosen by its own voters and directly responsible to them alone. If good municipal government cannot be obtained in this way by universal suffrage and home-rule, then universal suffrage should be curtailed. The remedy for the abuses of municipal government is not to be obtained in the State Capitol but in the City Hall or at the city polls.

EDWARD J. McDERMOTT.

*Louisville, Ky.*

---

VACATION COURSE OF THE VEREIN FÜR SOCIAL POLITIK.

The two weeks' vacation course in economics and social politics which was concluded in Berlin on the twelfth of October, apparently proved a success, in every respect. Strictly speaking, the undertaking was not an experiment; what has previously been done in this direction was pointed out by Professor Schmoller in the *ANNALS* for September, 1895. It will suffice to recall here that the courses of this year were, in part, intended to replace those planned by the Evangelical Social Congress and that the somewhat similar effort of this organization in 1893 can be regarded as the immediate forerunner of the present enterprise.

The *Verein für Social Politik*, would seem to be better fitted for the work than its predecessor. It is bound to no party, sect or program, but seeks merely to unite in common effort those who believe in the necessity of social reform and strive to promote its attainment.

while holding fast to the principles of the present organization of society. Hitherto the association has worked upon public opinion and participated in the movement for better legislation chiefly through the biennial meetings at which living problems were discussed on the basis of carefully collected material, and through a long series of scientific investigations and reports which have been prepared by its members and published under its imprint since 1873. Thus the vacation course is a new tool in the equipment of the association, by of which it can extend its activities to wider fields, with which it may strive to broaden and deepen the general knowledge of facts essential to sound judgment upon social questions, and through which its representatives will be able to gain that more active and personal influence which usually accompanies the relation of lecturer to hearer and is almost inherent in it.

Who and what the hearers were, will best appear from an analysis of the list of those who attended the courses. Early in the first week 490 persons had been registered, 256 of these being residents of Berlin or its suburbs. In the second week, partly it is supposed because the three Berlin professors, Schmoller, Wagner and Sering were to lecture, and partly because the lectures of the preceding week had served to advertise the course, the attendance increased to 791 (a number not reached, to be sure, at all lectures), over two-thirds of the new visitors coming from Berlin or the immediate neighborhood. Of the 300 non-residents registered the greater number, were Germans, although there were enough foreigners, some fifty in all, many of them students of political science, to vary the Teutonic aspect of the audience. Among them were Russians, Austrians, Poles, Hungarians, Frenchmen, Italians, Danes, Armenians and Americans, (twelve). Classifying according to calling, one finds 49 clergymen; lawyers (*juristen*) of various sorts, many of them state officials, or about to become such, 181, university students from various faculties, 113; teachers 25; merchants, 19; physicians, 18; journalists, 12; *rentiers*, 13; active military officers, 13; retired officers, 8; manufacturers and factory owners, 12; land, estate or house owners (*Gutsbesitzer*, etc.), 11. A still more detailed examination of the list reveals the names of a number of privy and governmental councillors, and of others from the higher official circles. The business world was represented by the general manager of the Krupp Works and the secretary of the Central Union of German Industrialists, as well as a number of secretaries to Chambers of Commerce; the army, by active and retired generals, colonels and majors; and the universities, by members from all grades of the corps of instruction. Among the 160 women attending, twenty odd were teachers,



four authors, a somewhat larger number students. The remainder came partly from professional families, the wives and daughters of the Berlin faculty being strongly represented. There were also present representatives of other circles of Berlin and provincial society, among them some known to be strongly in sympathy with Social Democracy, and others active in the general movement for opening more of the economic field to their fellow country women.

From this it will be seen that the hearers were predominantly from the higher classes—who, by reason of ability, wealth, office or birth, were in possession of social station and presumably of education and culture considerably above the average. The courses filled each week-day of the fortnight from nine in the morning till six at night, while seven evenings were devoted to discussions presided over by one or another of the lecturing professors. Attendance upon all these exercises, or even upon a part of the lectures, was conditioned upon an independent control of time and a power of temporarily laying aside the usual calling not generally exercised by the masses in industry and trade.

But the *Verein für Social Politik* had not intended to give a "popular" course. This was evident in the explicitly worded program as well as in the subjects chosen by the several professors and the method in which they were treated. The task here assumed was not the entertainment or enlightenment of active minds from the masses. Nor was it provision of that opportunity for improving general education or for help toward broader culture which University Extension offers in the United States and England, partly as substitute for, partly as complement to, the work of colleges. It was, to be sure, the task of diffusing among groups partly without the pale of the universities the results of scientific research and reflection, but only those of economic science and the purpose of the undertaking was the practical one of winning influential circles to the cause of reform—in the higher sense of the word, a political purpose. Hence the character of the audience was deemed a matter for congratulation as well as its number and the attention, industry and interest which the members exhibited. The number of clergymen, which was small compared to the hundreds who had listened to the courses of the Evangelical Social Congress two years before, was disappointing, the more so as the need for fuller and more exact economic knowledge among the clergy is only too evident. On the other hand, the large representation from the bureaucracy, especially of younger officials, was all the more welcome. Without the help, sooner or later, of the

bureaucracy, Germans seem to think it difficult to achieve anything of the nature of the reforms advocated by the Association for Social Politics. At all events, ends can be reached far more easily and quickly when the officials are for a measure rather than indifferent or opposed to it. Partly through such relations and influence as may be expected to result from this and succeeding vacation courses is it hoped to secure the adherence of the younger officials to the policy of social reform before they become too thoroughly imbued with the conservatism more or less characteristic of their calling.

Restricted as they were to six hours each, the lecturers adopted of necessity so condensed and concise a treatment that it is here impracticable to attempt, by further condensation, to report in detail upon the substance of their discourses. In the course of the fortnight nearly all the important economic questions attracting contemporary German thought were treated by specialists upon each subject. Agriculture and the great series of problems connected with it, the Labor Question and the Compulsory Insurance of Laborers against Sickness and Old Age, Industry, Money, Population, Colonies, Emigration, Commercial Policy, Taxation, Private Property and Economic Freedom, the History and Criticism of Socialism, the Division of Labor, Social Struggles and the Development of Social Classes—the bare recital of the themes sufficiently suggests the wealth and variety of material presented. So far as questions of method and tendencies incidentally arose, the views expressed were those of the ethical, realistic and inductive school of economic science, the majority of whose foremost German representatives were to be found among the lecturers. And wherever the nature of his subject permitted, the lecturer paved the way for his final propositions in the direction of reform by an historical introduction and a description of present conditions as complete and detailed as was possible within the limits of his time. As a series, therefore, the lectures constituted a general picture of German economic phenomena, of the processes of their origin, of the defects and the merits of present organization such as could be otherwise gained, by the foreigner, at least, only at the expense of long study and great pains. To Germans also, the series brought much that was new and valuable. For the trained economist it may have been merely the opportunity of listening to teachers not yet heard or of hearing the results of researches hitherto not published. For the practical man it was often the scientific co-ordination of facts known to him singly from his daily experience. For many others it was the first introduction to the realm of economic discussion. Whether and to what extent the ulterior purposes of the association have been advanced

are questions best left to the future, although here also the prospect for eventually favorable answers seems most flattering.

To what may this work ultimately lead? The result of this first and somewhat experimental effort having been so reassuring in point of attendance, it is highly probable that similar courses will be given later, both in Berlin and elsewhere, under the auspices of the association. Although nothing as yet seems definitely decided, it is not unlikely that lecture courses in economics and social politics will shortly be held in several of the larger cities. It has also been proposed, in some cases, to lessen the number of subjects discussed, to hold at least some of the courses in the evening so as to make them more accessible to the employed classes, and, lastly, to endeavor to attract artisans, clerks and laboring men by an adaptation of themes and treatment. One great hindrance, of course, to marked success among the laborers is their adherence to the Social Democratic party and their loyalty to the peculiar economic doctrines of the Social Democratic faith. As far as Berlin is concerned there is no apparent reason why the Evangelical Social Congress should discontinue the work it began in 1893. On the contrary, the Congress could very well hold courses in alternate years in Berlin, since the biennial meetings of the association render it inexpedient that courses should be held in the capital city under the latter's auspices oftener than once in two years. In the case of other university towns, the obvious procedure would be to leave the initiative, to the professor of economics, most actively interested in the work of the association in that locality. Upon him would fall, too, the task of arranging the courses and securing the services of such colleagues as might be willing to devote time and energy to the dissemination of economic knowledge and the advocacy of humane social policy. The sacrifices caused by such work are considerable, while the honorarium which the association is able to offer is hardly more than nominal. The scholars who lecture at Berlin have unmistakably evinced their earnestness and public spirit by willingly taking the trouble and giving the time which the preparation of the course and participation in it involved.

R. M. B.

*University of Berlin.*

## EDITORIAL.

---

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Academy, held October 23, 1895, Dr. Edmund J. James presented his resignation as Chairman of the Committee on Publication and Editor of the *ANNALS*. He stated that his future residence in Chicago\* would, in his opinion, make it impossible for him to give that careful and continuous attention to the publications of the Academy which they demand. The subject was referred to a sub-committee, with instructions to report at a subsequent meeting of the Executive Committee.

At a later meeting, held November 15, 1895, the sub-committee reported the following recommendations, which, after due consideration, were unanimously adopted: "That Dr. James' resignation as Chairman of the Publication Committee and Editor of the *ANNALS* be accepted, but that he be requested to continue as one of the Associate Editors; that Dr. Roland P. Falkner be chosen Chairman of the Publication Committee and Editor of the *ANNALS*, to succeed Dr. James; and that Dr. Emory R. Johnson be selected to succeed Dr. James Harvey Robinson, whose resignation had also been received some time since."

---

The foregoing announcement from the records of the Executive Committee of the Academy will explain the changes in the editorial management of the *ANNALS* which take effect with the present number. Although compelled by change of residence to resign the managing editorship, Dr. James retains his full sympathy for the work and will continue as Associate Editor to take an advisory part in the policy of the *ANNALS*, even though it may be at the cost of considerable personal inconvenience. At a moment when the editorial responsibilities for the publications of the Academy fall upon other shoulders, it seems opportune to recall the services which Dr. James has rendered the *ANNALS* in the past, as well as to make a statement in behalf of the new management.

It was six years ago that Professor James conceived the idea of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, of which he was justly made the President. It is not too much to say that

\* See p. 78, of the present number of the *ANNALS*.

during those six years he has sustained its work in every particular, and that a large measure of its success is due to his efforts. Of what has here been accomplished, especially in reference to the publications, we shall speak later.

Professor James was eminently qualified for the work which he assumed. With a keen insight into scientific problems, he had already given evidence of a practical sagacity which sought always for a concrete embodiment of the views he held. This must be clear to those who survey the list of his published writings which accompanies the personal note of this issue. Nor have these writings remained without practical result.

His pamphlet on *The Relation of the Municipality to the Gas Supply* grew out of an address delivered before the Social Science Association of Philadelphia, at a critical period in the history of the city gas works, when a large combination of private capital was trying to secure possession of the city plant. The address was generally considered to have settled the question in favor of city ownership in Philadelphia. In its subsequent form, as published by the American Economic Association, it contributed very decidedly toward strengthening public sentiment in favor of the ownership and control of lighting plants by municipalities.

The various addresses on the subject of forestry, delivered in the interest of the Pennsylvania Forestry Association, have contributed to the advance of the movement for the protection and extension of our forests. In like manner in essays on the transportation question Professor James anticipated by the discussion of the Zone Tariff System, the era of cheaper passenger fares on our railways, as well as the sounder view which now begins to prevail of the relation of canals and waterways to our railway system. When the history of the movement for better government of our cities comes to be written, it will be seen that Professor James contributed in large measure to the advance of this movement.

But it is particularly in the field of education that Professor James has impressed his views upon various important movements. In the light of subsequent developments, his papers and addresses, in which these results were foreshadowed, acquire an increased interest. It would occupy us too long to enumerate the actual results which can be traced to these efforts. It is sufficient to say that Professor James has concerned himself with such questions as the place of kindergartens in the public school system, the teaching of pedagogics in universities, the function of commercial education, the relation of the different classes of secondary schools to one another, and the education of adults, especially University Extension.

The fertility of practical expedient, and the breadth of sympathy for all forward movements which have characterized Professor James' career, have stood the American Academy of Political and Social Science in good stead throughout its existence. An unceasing interest devoted to the various aspects of its work has secured for the Academy an unusual measure of success. No one knows this better than those who, like the present editor, have been intimately associated with him in the work. No institution depends for its success upon a single individual, and the writer would be the last to undervalue the self-sacrificing labors of a group of enthusiastic specialists who have labored for its success, nor the cordial co-operation of writers all over the United States who have taken part in its publications. Yet, however numerous the workers, they must have a chief. In the work of the Academy, where he has occupied at the same time the position of president and editor of the publications, Professor James has been the directing spirit.

During his editorship the ANNALS has been changed from a quarterly to a bimonthly periodical, while the numbers have been steadily increased in size. The policy of publishing as supplements longer papers than could find a place in the ANNALS has been strenuously pushed by Professor James, and at the present time the number of these publications is quite large and has been notably enriched by the supplement which accompanies the present issue. The leading papers published in the ANNALS are reprinted in separate form, and as pamphlets secure a circulation and attention which they would not attain as articles of a periodical. To Professor James is due the consistent maintenance of this policy. To his initiative is also to be ascribed the establishment of the interesting departments of sociological and municipal government notes, whose success has amply justified the wisdom of his foresight.

The present editor discharges a debt of gratitude in rendering this account of the services of Dr. James to the publications of the Academy. He feels that the policy of these publications has been laid upon firm foundations. The constructive work has in large part been accomplished. It remains for those who follow to build a structure worthy of the foundation.

And now a word in behalf of the present editorial board. Our readers will have noticed that Dr. Emory R. Johnson has replaced Dr. James Harvey Robinson as associate editor. We part with Dr. Robinson with regret, for his services in the past have been of great value. His removal to New York, and his duties in his new position had rendered it impossible for him to retain his position as associate editor. Dr. Emory R. Johnson needs no introduction to the



readers of the ANNALS and the editor congratulates himself that he is to have associated with him in the active management of the publications a man who has already given so many proofs of his zeal and ability.

The reorganized editorial board propose to follow in the future the policy which in the past has brought so much success to our publications. Radical changes of policy are not contemplated by them and are not to be expected. They earnestly hope for some improvement in detail. They aim to make the ANNALS not only a picture of the activities of the Academy, and a repository for scientific papers, but so far as possible a complete record of current fact and discussion which is of interest to the students of political and social science. In this spirit they hope to inaugurate a current bibliography which will call the attention of our readers to the most important publications as they appear. This feature will not replace the book reviews and notes but will be in addition to it. In the same spirit it will be the aim of the reorganized board to extend and enrich the department of notes so that in time nothing which merits the attention of students of political and social science shall escape notice.

To accomplish these purposes they need the support of members of the Academy and other scholars. They bespeak for themselves the same cordial sympathy and assistance which has been granted their predecessors. Without it they must needs fail. With it they trust that they shall be able to assume the responsibilities which have been placed on their shoulders, and acquit themselves with credit in the functions to which the Academy has called them.

ROLAND P. FALKNER.

## PERSONAL NOTES

### AMERICA.

**Chicago University.**—Dr. Edmund J. James, President of the Academy, leaves the University of Pennsylvania for the University of Chicago, February 1, 1896. In the University of Pennsylvania Dr. James was Professor of Public Finance and Administration in the Department of Finance and Economy (Wharton School), and Professor of Political and Social Science in the Graduate Faculty (Department of Philosophy). In the University of Chicago he will be Professor of Public Administration in the Department of Political Science, and Director of the University Extension Department.

Edmund James James was born May 21, 1855, at Jacksonville, Morgan County, Ill. He was prepared for college in the High School Department of the Illinois State Normal School, at Normal, Ill., from which he graduated in June, 1873.

He entered college at the Northwestern University at Evanston, Ill., in the autumn of 1873. Having been appointed Recorder on the United States Lake Survey he joined (May 1, 1874) the party of Engineer Terry, engaged on the upper St. Lawrence and the lower part of Lake Ontario. At the end of the season he entered Harvard College, matriculating November 2, 1874.

In July, 1875, he went to Europe to study political economy. He matriculated at the University of Halle, October 16, 1875, and after spending four semesters at that institution—during which time he attended lectures also at Berlin and Leipsic—he graduated from Halle in August, 1877, taking the degrees of M. A. and Ph. D.

On his return home in the autumn of 1877 he was appointed principal of the Public High School, in Evanston, Ill., from January 1, 1878. In June, 1879, he resigned this position to accept the principalship of the High School Department of the Illinois State Normal School at Normal, Ill., beginning work in September of that year. He resigned this position at Christmas time, 1882, in order to continue his studies in Europe, which he pursued during the summer semester of 1883 at various German universities.

On July 3, 1883, he was elected Professor of Public Finance and Administration in the Wharton School of Finance and Economy, University of Pennsylvania, to begin work the following September. Since 1886 he has had practical charge of this department. Under

his influence its corps of instructors was largely increased, the subjects of instruction multiplied, and its curriculum extended from two years to four, changes which were followed by a large increase in the number of students. It was owing to his personal efforts that instruction in statistics, journalism, sociology, transportation, municipal government, jurisprudence, and politics was added to the work in history, economics, and finance. During this period the Wharton School of Finance and Economy became not only a successful department for higher commercial education, but also one of the leading centres for the study of economics and politics in the United States.

Shortly after going to the University of Pennsylvania, Professor James was also appointed December 12, 1883, Professor of Political and Social Science in the Graduate Faculty (Department of Philosophy), and from January, 1884, to January, 1888, was Secretary of this Faculty. While Secretary he proposed the regulations which with few changes, have remained the rules governing graduate study in the University until the present. He was also the first instructor of the Faculty to introduce the seminary method of instruction which has become such a marked feature of all advanced work in the University. He was in Europe on leave of absence during the academic year 1888-89.

On April 8, 1891, he was elected President of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, an association organized to promote the introduction and development of University Extension methods of instruction throughout the United States. He held this position until September 1, 1895, during which time the work of the society was greatly extended and strengthened. The number of lecture courses rose from 42 in 1890-91 to 126 in 1894-95; while the number in attendance increased from 7400 to 20,000.

While at the University Professor James declined various calls to other institutions either as president or professor. He was offered the presidency of two leading western State universities. He was also offered an Assistant Professorship in Political Economy at Harvard in 1890 and the head Professorship of Political Science at the University of Chicago in 1892. He was appointed delegate from the University of Pennsylvania to the tercentenary celebration of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1892, and to the bicentennial of the University of Halle in 1894.

Professor James is an active member of various societies and associations of a scientific and practical character. He has been a member of the National Educational Association since 1879. He was elected a member of the National Council of Education in 1884 and has delivered addresses before the association on "College Education for

Business Men," "University Extension" and "Normal School Education."

He was chosen a member of the American Philosophical Society, April 18, 1884.

Since September, 1885 he has been a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; since 1891 a Fellow of that body. He was Vice-President and Chairman of Section I in 1891, and has read papers at its sessions on "The Share of Labor in Distribution," "Manual Training in the Public Schools" and "The Farmer and Taxation."

Since 1885 he has been a member of the American Social Science Association; was Secretary of the Department of Social Economy, 1887-88, and one of the directors of the association for the years 1890-92. He has read papers on "The Bullitt Bill Charter of Philadelphia," "Schools of Political and Social Science," "The Single Tax Theory."

As one of the early members (1883) of the Public Education Association of Philadelphia he delivered addresses before that body on "Financial and Administrative Aspects of Public Education," "The Need of Reorganization in Our Public School System," etc., and has been for two years past Chairman of the Executive Committee of that body.

He was one of the founders of the American Economic Association in 1885, and, as Chairman of the Committee on Organization, reported the plan which has proved so successful in practice. He was for some time Vice-President and has been a frequent contributor to its series of publications.

Having been much interested in the movement for the preservation and better management of our forests, he was one of the original members (1886) of the Pennsylvania Forestry Association and of the Council of that body. He delivered addresses before the association on "The Relation of the State to our Forests," "The Economic Significance of Our Forests," etc.

He was actively concerned in the organization of the Pennsylvania College Association in 1887, which was subsequently converted into the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools in the Middle States and Maryland. He delivered addresses at its sessions on "The American University," "University Extension," and "The American College," and was for some time treasurer of the association.

He was one of the founders of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and, at the first meeting for formal organization December 14, 1889, was elected President, an office to which he has since been annually re-elected.

He was one of the first to take part in the recent movement for the improvement of city politics in the United States; was one of the organizers of the Municipal League of Philadelphia (out of which the National Association of Municipal Leagues has grown) and served as its first president from December 1, 1891.

Professor James' contributions to the literature of the subjects in which he has been interested have been numerous.

With Dr. Charles DeGarmo, President of Swarthmore College, he founded the *Illinois School Journal*, now the *Public School Journal*, one of the most influential educational periodicals in the West. As editor of this magazine for two years, 1881-82, he contributed many papers to the current discussion of the time, relating to the pedagogical and administrative aspects of public education.

As editor of the *ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE* he has for the past five years directed the policy of this periodical. Under his direction it has expanded from a quarterly to a bimonthly with numerous supplements, and has grown steadily and rapidly in scope and influence.

In addition to the work on the above periodicals, Professor James was one of the leading contributors to the "Cyclopædia of Political Science, Political Economy and United States History," edited by John J. Lalor, Chicago, 1882-84. (Referred to below as Lalor's *Cyclopædia*.)

#### LIST OF PUBLISHED PAPERS.

##### *A. Monographs and Longer Papers.*

1. "*Studien über den Amerikanischen Zolltarif: Seine Entwicklung und seinen Einfluss auf die Volkswirtschaft.*" Pp. 80. Jena, 1877.
2. "*Aims and Methods of Latin Teaching in Our Public Schools.*" Educational Newsgleaner, Chicago, September, 1880.
3. "*Banks of Issue.*" Lalor's "*Cyclopædia.*" Vol. I. Chicago, 1881.
4. "*Customs Duties.*" Ibid.
5. "*Relation of Academic to Professional Work in Normal Schools.*" Education. Boston, 1882.
6. "*Latin Teaching in the Public Schools.*" Four Papers in *Illinois School Journal*. Vol. I. Normal, 1881-82.
7. "*Epochs in the History of Pedagogics.*" Three papers. Ibid.
8. "*National Aid to Education.*" Four papers. Ibid. Vol. II, 1882-83.
9. "*Das Studium der Staatswissenschaften in Amerika.*" Conrad's *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, N. F. VII Band. Jena, 1883.

10. "*Emigration and Immigration.*" Lator's "Cyclopædia." Vol. II. Chicago, 1883.
11. "*Compulsory Education.*" Ibid.
12. "*Machinery: Its Social and Economical Effects.*" Ibid.
13. "*Excise.*" Ibid.
14. "*Factory Laws.*" Ibid.
15. "*Science of Finance.*" Ibid.
16. "*Labor.*" Ibid.
17. "*Insurance.*" Ibid.
18. "*The Higher Education of Teachers at the University of Jena.*" New England Journal of Education. Boston, December 6 and 13, 1883.
19. "*Distribution of the Surplus Revenue.*" Philadelphia Press, Dec. 7, 1883.
20. "*History of Political Economy.*" Lator's "Cyclopædia." Vol. III. Chicago, 1884.
21. "*The Classical Question in Germany.*" Popular Science Monthly, January, 1884. (Reprinted at Boston, 1884, as Appendix to Pamphlet on Greek Question, by Charles Francis Adams.)
22. "*Gindeley's History of the Thirty Years' War.*" The Press, Philadelphia, 1884.
23. "*Rise of the Modern Laborer.*" MacNeil's "Labor Question." Pp. 66. Boston, 1885.
24. "*The Public Economy of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.*" Wharton School Annals of Political Science. No. I. Pp. 34. Philadelphia, 1885.
25. "*Outline of a Proposed School of Political and Social Science.*" Philadelphia Social Science Association. Pp. 24. Philadelphia, 1885.
26. "*The Relation of the Modern Municipality to the Gas Supply: with Special Reference to the Gas Question in Philadelphia.*" Philadelphia Social Science Association. Pp. 38. Philadelphia, 1886.
27. "*National Aid to Popular Education.*" Andover Review. Boston, March, 1886.
28. "*The Relation of the Modern Municipality to the Gas Supply.*" (Revised and enlarged edition of No. 26.) Pp. 69. American Economic Association. May and July, 1886.
29. "*The Kindergarten and the Public School.*" Sub-Primary School Society. Pp. 24. Philadelphia, 1886.
30. "*Chairs of Pedagogics in Our Universities.*" Philadelphia Social Science Association. Pp. 46. Philadelphia, 1887.
31. "*The Legal Tender Decisions.*" Pp. 31. American Economic Association, 1887.



32. "*The Agitation for Federal Regulation of Railways.*" American Economic Association. Pp. 50. July, 1887.
33. "*Socialists and Anarchists in the United States.*" Our Day, Boston, Feb. 1888.
34. "*The Degree of Ph. D. in Germany.*" Andover Review, Boston, June, 1888.
35. "*The Government in Its Relation to Forests.*" Department of Agriculture Forestry Division. Bulletin No. 2. Pp. 16. Washington, D. C., 1889.
36. "*The Canal and the Railway.*" Pp. 57. American Economic Association, 1890.
37. "*The Federal Constitution of Germany.*" Publications of University of Pennsylvania. Political Economy and Public Law Series. No. 7. Pp. 43. Philadelphia, 1890.
38. "*The Federal Constitution of Switzerland.*" Publications of University of Pennsylvania. Political Economy and Public Law Series. No. 8. Pp. 46. Philadelphia, 1890. Nos. 37 and 38 were reprinted in "The Convention Manual of the Sixth New York State Constitutional Convention," Part 2, Vol. III, Foreign Constitutions, Albany, N. Y., 1894.
39. "*Needed Improvements in Our Transportation System.*" Manufacturer, Philadelphia, Nov. 1, 1890.
40. "*The Education of Business Men.*" American Bankers' Association. Pp. 26. New York, Jan., 1891. Second edition same year.
41. "*Reform in Railroad Passenger Fares.*" Quarterly Journal of Economics, Boston, January, 1891.
42. "*Economic and Social Aspects of Public Education.*" American Institute of Instruction. Pp. 35. Boston, July, 1891.
43. "*The Farmer and Taxation.*" American Association for the Advancement of Science. Pp. 27. Salem, Mass., 1891.
44. "*The University Extension Lecturer.*" Two Papers in University Extension. Philadelphia, Dec., 1891; Jan., 1892. Reprinted as separate papers. Pp. 22.
45. "*A Plea for the Establishment of a Commercial High School.*" American Bankers' Association. Pp. 17. New York, 1892. New edition. 1893.
46. "*Some General Considerations Concerning University Extension.*" Introduction to the "University Extension Handbook." Second Edition. Philadelphia, 1893.
47. "*Education of Business Men in Europe.*" Report of an examination of European Commercial Schools. American Bankers' Association. Pp. viii, 232. New York, 1893.
48. "*Philadelphia's Need of a Commercial High School.*" Pp. 24. Educational Club, Philadelphia, 1894.

49. "*A Neglected Incident in the Life of Dr. Franklin.*" The Nation, New York, April 18, 1895.

50. "*A Model City Charter.*" Address before the National Conference for Good City Government, at Minneapolis. National Municipal League, Philadelphia, 1895.

*B. Briefer Papers and Reviews.*

Of these the following are the most important:—

1. "*German Universities.*" The Tripod, Evanston, October 25 and November 25, 1877.

2. "*The Modern Languages.*" Educational Weekly, Chicago, 1878.

3. "*The Spelling Reform.*" Ibid, 1879.

4. "*History of the National Debt.*" Bloomington Pantagraph, January, 1881.

5. "*What is a German University.*" Illinois School Journal, Normal, September, 1881.

6. "*Municipal Economy in Prussia.*" The Nation, New York, October 23, 1881.

7. "*Walker's Money, Trade and Industry.*" The American Critic, Chicago, 1882.

8. "*The Lecture and the Recitation System of Instruction.*" Illinois School Journal, Normal, January, 1882.

9. "*German Student Life.*" Ibid., March, 1882.

10. "*Correlation of Studies.*" Ibid., August, 1882.

11. "*Some Thoughts on the New Education.*" Two papers in Illinois School Journal. Vol. II., Normal, 1882-83.

12. "*The Chinese Question.*" The Nation, New York, April 20, 1882.

13. "*State Ownership of Railroads in Italy.*" Ibid., April 27, 1882.

14. "*Political Economy in German Universities.*" Ibid., September 28, 1882. Reprinted in L'Athenæum belge. Brussels, November 1, 1882.

15. "*New Education.*" Northwestern Christian Advocate, Chicago, February, 1883.

16. "*The Public High School.*" Ibid, 1883.

17. "*Comparative Methods in Finance.*" Bankers' Magazine, April, 1884.

18. "*Prince Bismarck.*" The American, Philadelphia, August, 16, 1884.

19. "*A New Work on Political Economy.*" Bankers' Magazine, August, 1884.

20. "*Atkinson's Distribution of Products.*" *The Nation*. New York, March 19, 1885.
21. "*The Need of Organization in Our Educational Field.*" *Christian Advocate*, New York, June 25, 1885.
22. "*Recent Books on Political Economy.*" *The American*, Philadelphia, October 31, 1885.
23. "*Recent Progress in Political Economy.*" *Science*, New York, November 6, 1885.
24. "*Recent Land Legislation in England.*" *Ibid.*, November 20, 1885.
25. "*Payne's Science of Education.*" *Christian Union*. New York, 1886.
26. "*The State as an Economic Factor.*" *Science*, New York, May 28, 1886. Reprinted in separate form.
27. "*Paulsen's History of Higher Education in Germany.*" *The American*, Philadelphia, November 13, 1886.
28. "*Teaching as a Profession.*" *Ibid.*, March 5, 1887.
29. "*Adams' Public Debts.*" *Ibid.*, May 21, 1887.
30. Introduction to Ingram's "*History of Political Economy.*" New York, 1888.
31. "*Constitutional Position of Prussia in the German Empire.*" *The Nation*, New York, April 26, 1888.
32. "*State Interference.*" *The Chautauquan*, June, 1888.
33. "*University Instruction in Bavaria.*" *The American*, Philadelphia, January 26, 1889.
34. "*The Great Educational Need of Philadelphia.*" *Red and Blue*, Philadelphia, November 1, 1889.
35. "*The Study of Politics and Business at the University of Pennsylvania.*" *Ibid.*, November 15, 1889.
36. "*Sax's Grundlegung der Theoretischen Staatswirthschaft.*" *Political Science Quarterly*, New York, March, 1890.
37. "*An Academy of Political and Social Science.*" *Manufacturer*, Philadelphia, April 1, 1890.
38. "*Economic and Social Aspects of Public Education.*" *New England Journal of Education*, Boston, July 16, 1890.
39. "*The Austrian Zone Tariff System.*" *ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY*, October, 1890.
40. "*The Coming Teacher.*" *Manufacturer*, Philadelphia, May 16, 1891.
41. "*University Extension.*" *Book News*, Philadelphia, May, 1891.
42. "*University Extension in the United States.*" *Our Day*, Boston, February, 1892.

43. Introduction to "*City Government of Philadelphia*." Wharton School of Finance and Economy, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1893.

44. "*A New Career for College Men*." Review of Reviews, New York, June, 1893.

45. Introduction to Brinley's "*Handbook for Voters*." Philadelphia, 1894.

46. "*Shaw's Municipal Government in Great Britain*." The Bookman, New York, May, 1895.

47. "*The Income Tax*." The Citizen, Philadelphia, June, 1895.

48. "*Some Considerations on Our System of Education*." Ibid. September, 1895.

**Amherst.**—The chair of Political Economy, at Amherst, was filled May, 1895, by the appointment of Dr. James Walter Crook to the position of Assistant Professor. He was born December 21, 1859, at Bewdley, Northumberland County, Ontario, Canada, and received his early education in the public schools of his native place and of Manistee, Mich. From thence he went to Oberlin where he attended the Academy and 1887-91 the College, receiving the A. B. degree in 1891. He taught history at Oberlin College in 1891-92 and went the following year for graduate study in economics to the University of Wisconsin. In 1893 he received a fellowship at this institution and spent the year 1893-94 at the University of Berlin. In 1894 he was appointed fellow at Columbia College, and took, in May, 1895, his examination for the degree of Ph.D. He was then appointed to lecture on public finance during the present year in the absence of Professor Seligman, but resigned this post to accept the position at Amherst. He has written:

"*Land Transfers*." Wisconsin *Ægis*, May, 1893.

**Catholic University of America.**—The Hon. Carroll D. Wright has been appointed Lecturer on Political Economy in the newly organized Department of Philosophy in the Catholic University of America at Washington, D. C. He was born July 25, 1840, at Dunbarton, Merrimac County, N. H., and received his education in the public schools of Washington, N. H., and Reading, Mass., and the academies of Alstead, N. H., Washington, N. H., and Chester, Vt.

He was a teacher in the public schools in Langdon, N. H., Chester, Vt., Swanzev and Troy, N. H.; he was Assistant Principal of Mt. Cæsar Seminary in Swanzev in 1869, and Principal of the Select High School in Troy, N. H., in 1869. He was Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor from June, 1873, until September, 1885; Supervisor of the Federal Census for Massachusetts, 1885, and Commissioner of Public Records of Massachusetts, 1885. He was appointed

United States Commissioner of Labor January, 1885, and still holds that position ; under special act of Congress he has been in charge of the Eleventh Census since October, 1893.

In 1883 Tufts College, Mass., conferred upon him the honorary degree of A. M., and in 1894 he received the degree of LL.D. from Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. He has been an active contributor to the work of many learned societies. He is connected with the following organizations : President of the National Association of Officials of Bureaus of Labor Statistics in the United States ; President of the American Association for the Promotion of Profit-sharing ; Vice-President of the American Social Science Association and the American Statistical Association ; Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science ; Honorary Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society ; member of the American Economic Association ; American Historical Association ; New England Historical and Genealogical Society ; American Academy of Political and Social Science, International Statistical Institute ; Comité permanent, International Congrès des Accidents du Travail, Paris ; Societe internationale des Études pratiques d'Économie sociale, Paris ; Committee of Patronage, Congrès international des Habitations à Bon Marché, Paris ; Société d'Encouragement pour l'Industrie nationale, Paris ; British Economic Association, London ; Société d'Études sociales et politiques ; Société imperiale des Amis d'Histoire naturelle, d'Anthropologie et d'Ethnographie, Moscow ; Essex Institute, Salem, Mass. ; American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass., State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Mr. Wright is the editor of a large number of statistical reports of the highest value for the study of social conditions in the United States. In his reports he has always proceeded on the principle of furnishing as complete an analysis as possible of statistical tables. As Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor he furnished ten volumes on the census enumerations of Massachusetts, which are noteworthy for their wealth of statistical detail, and fourteen Annual Reports. In the mass of valuable material we can only mention investigations on wages (1885), drunkenness (1879-81), divorces (1880), working girls (1884), corporations (1878).

As United States Commissioner of Labor Mr. Wright has published nine annual reports of which, perhaps, the most important are the investigations into Railroad Labor (1889) ; Cost of Production (1890-91), and Building and Loan Associations (1893). He has also caused the publication of eight special reports of great value. The collection of data for the Senate reports on prices and wages was conducted by the Department of Labor. Mr. Wright was a member of

the United States Strike Commission which has recently made a report on the Chicago strike of June-July, 1894. The following is a list of Mr. Wright's publications:

"*The Massachusetts Census of 1875 and Its Lessons.*" An address delivered before the American Social Science Association at Saratoga, N. Y., September 6, 1877. Boston Journal, September 6, 1877.

"*Religion in Politics.*" Reading (Mass.) News and Chronicle, September 12, 1877.

"*Labor, Pauperism and Crime.*" An address delivered before the Conference of Charities at Cincinnati, Ohio, May 23, 1878. Pp. 16. Boston.

"*The Results of the Massachusetts Public School System.*" A paper prepared for the Forty-second Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Education. Pp. 23. Boston, 1879.

"*History of Reading, Mass.*" Prepared in collaboration with Hiram Barrus. Drake's "History of Middlesex County, Mass." Pp. 19. Boston, 1879.

"*The Relation of Political Economy to the Labor Question.*" The first of a course of lectures upon "Phases of the Labor Question Ethically Considered," delivered at the Lowell Institute, Boston, December, 1879. Pp. 53. Boston, 1882. "*Ethics in the Labor Question,*" based on the above. The Catholic University Bulletin. Pp. 12. Washington, 1895.

"*The Census: Its Methods and Aims.*" International Review, New York, October, 1880.

"*The Industries of the Last Hundred Years.*" Prepared in collaboration with Horace G. Wadlin. "Memorial History of Boston." Pp. 26. Boston, 1881.

"*James A. Garfield: A Memorial Address.*" Delivered at Old South Church, Reading, Mass., September 26, 1881. Pp. 36. Boston.

"*Dedication of the Shedd Free Library.*" An address delivered at Washington, N. H., December 21, 1881. Pp. 20. Washington, N. H., 1882.

"*The Social, Commercial and Manufacturing Statistics of the City of Boston.*" Pp. 259. Boston, 1882.

"*Practical Elements of the Labor Question.*" International Review, New York, January, 1882.

"*Wages, Prices and Profits.*" Princeton Review, New York, July, 1882.

"*The Factory System as an Element in Civilization.*" An address delivered before the American Social Science Association at Saratoga, N. Y., September 8, 1882. Journal of Social Science, May, 1883.

"*Anniversary of the Battle of Opequan.*" An address delivered at



Winchester, Va., September 19, 1883. "Souvenir of the Shenandoah Valley." Pp. 12. Boston, 1883.

"*Report on the Factory System.*" Reports of the Tenth Census. Pp. 78. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884. Also Johnson's "Universal Cyclopedia." Vol. III.

"*The Scientific Basis of Tariff Legislation.*" An address delivered before the American Social Science Association at Saratoga, N. Y., September 10, 1884. Journal of Social Science, December, 1884. Also published in "The National Revenues," by Albert Shaw, Ph.D., Chicago, 1888.

"*An Analysis of the Population of the City of Boston, as Shown in the State Census of May, 1885.*" Pp. 17. Boston, 1885.

"*The Progress of Manufactures.*" Gately's "World's Progress." Boston, 1885.

"*History of Inventions and Discoveries, Processes in Manufactures.*" Ibid.

"*The Pulpit and Social Reforms.*" Unitarian Review and Religious Magazine, Boston, March, 1886.

"*Popular Instruction in Social Science.*" Opening address delivered before the American Social Science Association at Saratoga, N. Y., September 6, 1886. Journal of Social Science, June, 1887.

"*The Present Actual Condition of the Workingman.*" An address delivered before the National Conference of Unitarian Churches at Saratoga, N. Y., September 23, 1886. Pp. 12. Boston, 1887.

"*Industrial Necessities.*" Forum, November, 1886.

"*An Historical Sketch of the Knights of Labor.*" Quarterly Journal of the Economics, January, 1887.

"*The Study of Statistics in Colleges.*" A paper read before the joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Economic Association at Harvard University, May 24, 1887. Pp. 24. Publications of the American Economic Association. Vol. III, No. 1, September, 1888.

"*Problems of the Census.*" Opening address before the American Social Science Association at Saratoga, N. Y., September 5, 1887. Journal of Social Science, November, 1887.

"*The Growth and Purposes of Bureaus of Statistics of Labor.*" An address delivered before the American Social Science Association at Saratoga, N. Y., September 3, 1888. Journal of Social Science, December, 1888.

"*Die Organisation der arbeitsstatistischen Aemter in den Vereinigten Staaten.*" Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik, Tübingen, 1888.

"*Immigration.*" Boston Globe, September 9, 1888.

"*How a Census is Taken.*" North American Review, June, 1889.

"*A School of Economics.*" Ethical Record, Philadelphia, January, 1890.

"*The Study of Statistics in Italian Universities.*" Publications of the American Statistical Association. New Series, No. X. Vol. XI, June, 1890.

"*Social and Industrial Progress.*" Christian Register, Boston, November 27, 1890.

"*Society and the Tramp.*" An address delivered before the Charity Organization Society of Baltimore, December 9, 1890. State Charities Record, New York, December, 1890.

"*Population in the Year 1900.*" Independent, New York, January 1, 1891.

"*Multiplicity of Paying Occupations.*" New York Tribune, February 1, 1891.

"*The Relation of Invention to Labor.*" An address delivered at the Patent Centennial, Washington, D. C., April 8, 1891. Pp. 36. Proceedings of the Celebration of the Beginning of the Second Century of the American Patent System. Washington, 1892.

"*The American Patent System.*" Independent, New York, April 9, 1891.

"*The Influence of Inventions Upon Labor.*" Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, April 11, 1891.

"*A Basis for Statistics of Cost of Production.*" Pp. 21. Publications of the American Statistical Association. New Series, No. XIV, Vol. II, June, 1891.

"*The Value of Statistics.*" Popular Science Monthly, New York, August, 1891.

"*Marriage and Divorce.*" An address delivered before the National Conference of the Unitarian Churches at Saratoga, N. Y., September 23, 1891. Pp. 23. Lend a Hand Monthly Extra, Boston, November, 1891.

"*Lessons from the Census.*" I and II. Popular Science Monthly, October and November, 1891.

"*A Great Statistical Investigation.*" North American Review, December, 1891.

"*The Unemployed.*" Social Economist, December, 1891.

"*The Evolution of Wage Statistics.*" Quarterly Journal of Economics, January, 1892.

"*Our Population and Its Distribution.*" Popular Science Monthly, January, 1892.

"*Urban Population.*" Ibid. February 1892.

"*Social Statistics of Cities.*" Ibid. March, 1892.

- "*Rapid Transit.*" Ibid. April, 1892.
- "*Does the Factory Increase Immorality?*" Forum, May, 1892.
- "*The Working of the United States Department of Labor.*" Cosmopolitan Magazine, June, 1892.
- "*Why are Women Paid Less than Men.*" Forum, July, 1892.
- "*Families and Dwellings.*" Popular Science Monthly, August, 1892.
- "*Our Native and Foreign-born Population.*" Ibid. October, 1892.
- "*The Relation of Economic Conditions to the Causes of Crime.*" A paper read at the Annual Congress of the National Prison Association of the United States, at Baltimore, December 5, 1892. Proceedings of the Annual Congress of the National Prison Association of the United States. Pittsburg, 1893. Pp. 22. Also ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY, May, 1893.
- "*Compulsory Arbitration an Impossible Remedy.*" Forum, May, 1893.
- "*What is a Patent?*" Youth's Companion, Boston, June 22, 1893.
- "*The Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers.*" Quarterly Journal of Economics, July, 1893.
- "*Cheaper Living and the Rise of Wages.*" Forum, October, 1893.
- "*The Value and Influence of Labor Statistics.*" Engineering Magazine, November, 1893.
- "*The Relations of Employer and Workman.*" An address delivered before the Eighth Annual Convention of the National Association of Builders, at Boston, February 14, 1894. Official Report of the Convention, Boston, 1894.
- "*The Census of Sex, Marriage and Divorce.*" Forum, June, 1894.
- "*The Limitations and Difficulties of Statistics.*" Yale Review, New Haven, August, 1894.
- "*Distinction Between Compulsory and Voluntary Arbitration.*" An address delivered at the Congress on Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration, held at Chicago, November 13, 1894. Pp. 5. Chicago.
- "*May a Man Conduct His Business as He Pleases?*" Forum, December, 1894.
- "*The Significance of Recent Labor Troubles in America.*" International Journal of Ethics, Philadelphia, January, 1895.
- "*The History of Cotton and Woolen Manufactures in the United States.*" "A National History of American Manufactures." Boston, 1895. (In press.)
- "*The Settlement of Labor Controversies on Railroads.*" An address delivered before the Young Men's Democratic Club of Massachusetts, at Boston, March 15, 1895. Printed in the Boston Herald and Boston Journal of March 16, 1895. Also printed in Employer and Employed, July, 1895.

"*Steps Toward Government Control of Railroads.*" Forum, February, 1895.

"*The Chicago Strike.*" Publications of the American Economic Association. Vol. IX, Nos. V and VI.

"*Have We Equality of Opportunity?*" Forum, May 1895.

"*The Industrial Evolution of the United States.*" Pp. 362. Meadville, Pa., 1895.

"*Contributions of the United States Government to Social Science.*" American Journal of Sociology, Chicago, November, 1895.

**Chicago University.**—Mr. Ralph C. H. Catterall has been advanced to the position of Tutor in History at the University of Chicago. He was born March 29, 1866, at Bolton, England, and received his early education in the public schools of Fall River, Mass.; Mahanoy City, Pa.; Lebanon, Pa., and at the Keystone Academy, Factoryville, Pa. He studied at Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa., where, in 1891, he received the degree of A. B. He then went to Harvard, where, in 1892, he received the degree of A. B. In the fall term of 1892 and 1893 he was Instructor at Bucknell University. In 1892 he began post-graduate study at Chicago University, receiving, in 1894, an appointment as Reader in History.

**Colorado College.**—Dr. Francis Walker has been appointed Instructor in Political Science at Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colo. The son of President Francis A. Walker, he was born at Washington, D. C., December 27, 1870. He received his education in the public schools of Boston and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where, in 1892, he received the degree of B. S. He was appointed, 1893, University Fellow in Political Science\* at Columbia College, New York, where he spent the years 1893-94 in residence. That institution granted him the degree of M. A. in 1893 and Ph.D in 1895.† During the year 1894-95 Mr. Walker was connected with the Massachusetts Board on the Unemployed as a special investigator on Public Works. In the report of that Commission he wrote the chapters, "Relief on Public Works" and "Conditions of Employment on Public Works." He has also written :

"*Double Taxation in the United States.*" Columbia College Series, Vol. V, No. 1, 1895.

**Indiana State University.**—Dr. Amos S. Hershey was appointed, August 1, 1895, Assistant Professor of Political Science at the Indiana State University at Bloomington, Ind. He was born July 11, 1867, at Hockersville, Dauphin County, Pa. His early education was

\* ANNALS, Vol. iv, p. 467, November, 1893.

† *Ibid.* Vol. vi, p. 301, September, 1895.

received in the public school of his native place and at the State Normal Schools at Kutztown and Millersville, Pa. He entered Bucknell University at Lewisburg, Pa., in 1887, but left in the following year to continue his studies at Harvard, where, in 1892, he received the degree of A. B. In the same year he went to Heidelberg, where, in 1894, he received the degree of Ph.D. The year 1894-95 Dr. Hershey spent in Paris at the École libre des Sciences politiques and the Sorbonne. He has written:

"*Die Kontrolle über die Gesetzgebung in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord Amerika und deren Gliedern.*" Pp. 71. Heidelberg, 1894.

**Smith College.**—Mr. John Franklin Crowell has been appointed Professor of Political Economy at Smith College, Northampton, Mass. He was born November 1, 1857, at York, Pa., and received his early education at the public school of Hall, Pa., and at Union Seminary, New Berlin, Pa. He entered Dartmouth College, but at the close of the Freshman year went to Yale, where three years later, 1883, he received the degree of A. B. He continued two years in post graduate study at Yale. He then became Principal of the Schuylkill Seminary, Reading, Pa., and the following year occupied a similar position in an academy at Fredericksburg, Pa. In 1887 he was appointed President of Trinity College, N. C., and Professor of Economics and Social Science.

Professor Crowell is a member of the Council of the Academy, and member of other learned societies. He has written:

"*Numbers, an Educational Problem.*" Pp. 21.

"*The Employment of Children.*" Andover Review, 1887.

"*A Program of Progress: An Open Letter to the General Assembly of North Carolina.*" Durham, 1891.

"*The North Carolina Railroad Commission Law.*" Railroad, Gazette, March, 1891.

"*The Drift of Railroad Legislation in Georgia.*" Ibid., August 14, 1891.

"*The Study of Economic and Social Science in University, College and Academy.*" Regent's Bulletin, No. 9, August, 1892. University of the State of New York.

"*Taxation in the American Colonies; New Jersey.*" Durham, N. C., 1893.

"*Report of the State Railroad Commission of North Carolina.*" Railroad Gazette, February 17, 1893.

"*The Supreme Court Decision in the South Carolina Tax Cases.*" Ibid., May 5, 1893.

"*State Institutions in State Constitutions.*" Regent's Bulletin, August, 1893, Albany, N. Y.

"*The Education of Poor Boys.*" Nashville (Tenn.) Advocate, August, 1893.

"*Social Methods and Services of the Church.*" Durham, November, 1894.

**University of Wisconsin.**—The name of Mr. S. E. Sparling is to be added to the list of fellows of the University of Wisconsin. Mr. Sparling has been appointed Fellow in Public Administration and is charged in the present year with instruction in that subject.

#### AUSTRIA.

**Vienna.**—Dr. Ferdinand Schmid has recently become Privatdozent for Statistics at the University of Vienna. He was born at Troppau, in Austrian Silesia, on August 18, 1862, and received his early education in the gymnasium of his native town. He attended the University of Vienna from 1880 to 1884 and secured, in 1885, the degree of Doctor juris. He was attached to the financial administration of Lower Austria from 1885 to 1886 and entered in the latter part of 1886 the office of the Statistical Central Commission. In 1894 he became the Director of the Statistical Department of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Government at Sarajevo. This position he resigned in May, 1895, to enter again into the service of the Statistical Central Commission. In that office he has had the supervision especially of the educational statistics, having edited the annual official statistical reports of the Commission as well as special volumes on the general public schools and the disbursements for public education. Besides numerous shorter articles in various economic journals, Dr. Schmid has published the following :

"*Die Finanzstrafjustiz auf dem Gebiete der direkten Steuern in Oesterreich und ihre Ergebnisse während der Jahre 1873-1885.*" Statistische Monatschrift, 1887.

"*Statistische Studien über die Entwicklung der österreichischen Gewerkgenossenschaften, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Wiener Gewerkgenossenschaften.*" Ibid, 1888.

"*Wirksamkeit der Gewerbgerichte und ihre Fortbildung.*" Ibid, 1889.

"*Die Standesregister in Oesterreich.*" Ibid, 1889.

"*Die italienische Enquete über die wohlthätigen Stiftungen.*" Ibid, 1887.

"*Die überseeische österreichische Auswanderung in den Jahren 1887 und 1888.*" Ibid, 1890.

"*Ueber Statistik und Verwaltungsrecht der Stiftungen.*" Ibid, 1890.



"*Die statistische Ergebnisse der Reichsrathswahlen im Jahre, 1891.*" Ibid, 1891.

"*Statistik der Wassergenossenschaften in den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder.*" Ibid, 1892.

"*Kirchen Statistik.*" Ibid, 1895.

"*Der neue Gesetzentwurf betreffend die Gewerbegerichte.*" Archiv für sociale Gesetzgebung Vol. III.

"*Der neue Reichsgesetz betreffend die Gewerbegerichte.*" Ibid, Vol. IV.

"*Die neue socialpolitische Vorlagen der österreichischen Regierung.*" Ibid, Vol. V.

## BELGIUM.

**Liege.**—Dr. Ernest Mahaim was appointed May 25, 1895, Extraordinary Professor at the State University at Liège. He was born April 27, 1865, at Mornignies, province of Hainault, Belgium. He received his early education at the Athénée Royal at Liège, in which city he pursued his university studies. From 1882 to 1884 he attended the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, and 1884 to 1886 the Faculty of Law. He has received the following doctorates: in law, 1886; in political and administrative sciences, 1887, and the special doctorate in public and administrative law, 1891. In 1887–88 Dr. Mahaim studied at the University of Berlin, and in 1888 at Vienna. The following winter he spent at the école de Droit and École libre des Sciences politiques at Paris. In 1889 he spent four months in England visiting the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford. In 1890 Dr. Mahaim was admitted to practice law before the Court of Appeal of Liege and continued such practice until 1892, when he was appointed Chargé de Cours at the University. Dr. Mahaim is a member of the Société d'Etudes sociales et politiques, the Verein für Sozialpolitik and the British Economic Association. In addition to contributions to the Economic Journal and La Riforma Sociale, he has written:

"*Le combat pour le droit.*" Revue de Belgique, 15 December, 1884.

"*La question de la protection internationale des travailleurs.*" Revue d'Economie politique, 1888.

"*L'enseignement de l'Économie politique dans les universités de Berlin et de Vienne.*" Revue de Belgique, 15 February and 15 April, 1889.

"*La Reforme de l'enseignement supérieur et les sciences sociales.*" (Jointly with G. Hulin, now professor at Ghent). Liège, 1889.

"*Etudes sur l'association professionnelle.*" (Dissertation for special doctorate). Liège, 1891.

"*Les Syndicats professionnels.*" Bruxelles, 1893 (has been translated into Russian).

"*La paix sociale.*" Revue d'Economie politique, July, 1891

"*Emile de Laveleye.*" Ibid, January, 1892.

"*La politique commerciale de la Belgique.*" Vol. XLIX. Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik entitled, "*Die Handelspolitik der wichtigeren Kulturstaaten in den letzten Jahrzehnten.*" Leipzig, 1891.

"*L'objet de l'Économie politique de ses methodes d'investigation.*" Liège, 1891.

At the same time M. E. Van der Smissen, Chargé de Cours at the University of Liège, was promoted to the grade of Extraordinary Professor. He was born January 18, 1865, at Alost, province of Flanders, Belgium, where he obtained his early education. From 1879 to 1883 he was at school at Brussels from whence he went in 1884 to Louvain for university study. At the University of Louvain he obtained, in 1886, the Doctorate of Political Science and Administration and in 1887 that of Laws. In the latter year he returned to Brussels and was admitted to practice before the Court of Appeals of Brussels. On the 7th of April, 1892, he was appointed Chargé de Cours at the University of Liège, and, on the same day, was appointed Adjunct Secretary of the Superior Council of Labor. In November, 1892, he was appointed a Secretary of the International Monetary Conference at Brussels. Dr. Van der Smissen is a member of the Société belge d'Economie sociale, the Société internationale d'Economie sociale of Paris, and the Société d'Etudes sociales et politiques. His published works are:

"*L'Irlande économique et sociale en 1889.*" Revue generale, Bruxelles, June, 1889.

"*La séparation des pouvoirs sous l'ancien régime belge.*" Report to the Archaeological Congress at Charleroi, 1883.

"*L'encyclique de la paix sociale.*" Magasin litteraire. Ghent, 1891.

"*Le contrat de travail,*" 1re étude. Revue du monde catholique, 1891.

"*Le contrat de travail,*" 2me étude. "*Les Accidents.*" Ibid., 1892.

"*Les lois de Malthus.*" Revue des questions scientifiques, October, 1891.

"*De l'influence des doctrines de l'Économie politique classique sur le socialisme scientifique.*" Ibid., July, 1892.

"*Conférence monétaire internationale, Bruxelles, 1892. Proces-verbaux.*" Revue sociale et politique, Bruxelles, 1893.

"*La population, les causes de ses progrès et les obstacles qui en arrêtent l'essor.*" (Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie des Sciences morales et politiques.) Pp. 561. Paris et Bruxelles, 1893.

"*La question monétaire envisagée du point de vue théorique.*" *Revue des questions scientifiques*, January, 1894.

"*La question monétaire et la crise agricole en Belgique.*" Bruxelles, 1894. (Jointly with MM. Thiebaud and Julin).

## ITALY.

**Naples**—The eminent publicist Ruggiero Bonghi died at Naples October 22, 1895. Born of well-to-do parents in Naples, March 20, 1828, he enjoyed an excellent education in the schools and university of his native city. His studies were chiefly philological and classical. At the age of twenty he published translations from Plato. In 1848 he was attached to the Neapolitan embassy at Rome. He returned on the news of the Bourbon reaction into Tuscany, and later into Piedmont, where for a number of years he devoted himself to literary and philosophical studies. In 1859 he was appointed Professor of Philosophy at the University of Pavia. On the overthrow of the Bourbons he returned to Naples in a like capacity, but devoted himself also to politics and the formation of a moderate constitutional party. He occupied successively the chair of Greek Literature at Rome, and that of Ancient History at Milan and at Rome. He was Minister of Public Education under the Minghetti ministry. In 1888 he received the degree of D. C. L. *honoris causæ* from the University of Oxford. Bonghi's writings were voluminous, and we can mention here only those of a political or historical nature:

"*La questione ecclesiastica.*" Milan, 1867.

"*I partiti politici nel Parlamento italiano.*" Florence, 1868.

"*Storia della finanza italiana dal 1864 al 1868.*" Florence, 1868.

"*L'alleanza prussiana e l'acquisto della Venezia.*" Florence, 1870.

"*Frati, Papi e Re. Discussione tre.*" Naples, 1873.

"*L'istruzione popolare in Italia.*" Milan, 1874.

"*Il segreto dell'urna.*" Florence, 1874.

"*Discorsi e saggi sulla pubblica istruzione.*" Florence, 1876.

"*Pio IX. ed il Papa futuro.*" Milan, 1877.

"*Il Conclave e l'elezione del pontefice.*" Milan, 1878.

"*Leone XIII. et l'Italia.*" Milan, 1878.

"*Il Congresso di Berlino e la crisi d'Oriente.*" Milan, 1878.

"*Ritratti contemporanei, Cavour, Bismarck, Thiers.*" Milan, 1878.

"*Disraeli e Gladstone, ritratti contemporanei.*" Milan, 1881.

- "*Leone XIII. e il Governo italiano.*" Rome, 1882.  
"Storia di Roma." Milan, 1885.  
"Leone XIII. studii." 1885.  
"Arnaldo di Brescia, studio." 1885.  
"Storia di Roma scritta per le scuole secondarie." Naples, 1885.  
"Il Conte di Cavour e il concetto di libertà." Pisa, 1885.  
"La perequazione fondiaria." Turin, 1885.

## BOOK DEPARTMENT

---

### NOTES.

THE THIRD EDITION OF Professor Marshall's "*Principles of Economics*,"\* following four years after the second and five after the first, shows many important changes and revisions tending in the same general direction as those introduced into the second edition. Starting with a desire to break as little as possible with the past and to justify by the most generous construction of their writings, the economic theories of such of his predecessors as Ricardo and John Stuart Mill, Professor Marshall has been gradually impelled by the force of friendly criticism and of a more independent analysis of economic phenomena to abandon certain artificial distinctions borrowed from the past and to turn over to the iconoclasts of the present the cherished theories of the classical system. These changes are most conspicuous in the historical and critical notes, which show traces of more careful revision than any part of the text. As examples may be cited the changes in this edition in the "Note on the Doctrine of the Wages-fund," (pp. 618-23). The references to Adam Smith and Ricardo, which exonerated them from adherence to the wages-fund theory in its "vulgar form" have been omitted. Moreover, the statement that Mill's fourth fundamental proposition regarding capital "expresses his meaning badly," no longer appears. In addition there is a decided change in the whole tone of the note, which no longer explains the wages-fund theory by reference to "careless phrases" of the classical writers, but shows its true connection with the peculiar industrial conditions that existed in England at the time it was formulated. A second change is one of arrangement, and consists in the more careful marshaling of the author's material about the "central problems of distribution and exchange," through the restatement of his theories of normal demand and normal supply which were before taken for granted in the Sixth Book. This is sure to make Marshall's own theory of the ultimate factors determining value more intelligible to the ordinary reader and accounts in large part for the addition of fifty-three pages to the size of the volume.

\**Principles of Economics*. By ALFRED MARSHALL. Vol. I, Third Edition, Pp. xxxi, 823. Price, \$3.00 London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1895. Reviewed in Vol. i, p. 332, of the ANNALS.

It would require too much space to enumerate all the minor changes, carefully summarized in the Preface, which appear in this third edition. Important sections of the book have been rewritten, the Notes have been entirely revised and brought down to date in their literary references, and the chapters on Capital and Income (Book II), have been thrown together, and the meaning of the term Social Capital has been expanded so as to include nearly all forms of accumulated wealth, while the term Trade Capital has been retained to refer to the instruments of production, etc., of the ordinary definition. Finally no pains have been spared to make the text as a whole clearer, in part by omitting the discussions of minor points, which in previous editions tended to obscure the broad outlines of Marshall's own theory.

As to the substance of the book, Marshall still adheres to the same general method of approaching industrial phenomena that he employed five years ago, and no important concession has been made to his critics. He still regards demand and supply as of co-equal importance in determining value and the shares which go to the different groups in society having a claim on the product. In his treatment of the causes which determine the "supply of labor," notwithstanding the fact that he asserts in the table of contents (Book IV, Chapter I, § 2), that "although labor is sometimes its own reward, we may regard its supply as governed by the price that is to be got for it," he still hesitates in the body of the work to come out squarely with the statement that economic considerations determine the rate at which population increases, which Wieser describes as a "monstrous idea," but which yet seems absolutely essential to the system of economics which Marshall represents. If the supply of labor is determined by extra-economic considerations such as habits, social institutions, etc., what becomes of the assertion, "its supply is governed by the price that is to be got for it," or in fact of the whole theory of the equilibrium of demand and supply as worked out by Professor Marshall? The most obvious reply to this question is that the habits and social institutions alluded to are themselves the resultants of past balancings of pleasures against pains, of utilities against disutilities. This point at least merits further elaboration than it has received at Professor Marshall's hands.

In conclusion, we have noted one slight error in citation. On page 263, Miss Brownell is referred to as Mr. Brownell, and thus one important contribution which woman has made to economics is wrongly attributed to grasping man.



STUDENTS OF OUR tariff history who are unfamiliar with Italian will welcome an English translation of Rabbeno's "Essays on the American Commercial Policy,"\* which were extensively reviewed in the ANNALS in November, 1893.

The translation is the work of a "translation's bureau" in London, and though on the whole satisfactory, in places shows signs of carelessness. For example, on page 389, we are told that if "we accustomed ourselves to food which could be produced at a cheaper rate, not only would it be possible for this globe to maintain a larger population, but it would diminish rents in this way also that, all land not being forced to produce the same crops, and each piece of ground being devoted to the products to which it was most suited, difference of fertility would become less marked." Again, on page 110, commenting on the claim of American Protectionists that a sentiment in favor of protection was one of the causes of the adoption of the constitution, Rabbeno is made to say: "But this is a risky assertion indeed, because if it is true that when the constitution was drawn up there were numerous demands for protection for the manufactures, on the other hand we must observe that if such demands were so prevalent as to determine the formation of the federal constitution, they would have prevailed also in the First Congress of the United States," etc. Other sentences might be quoted equally awkward in construction and blind in meaning, which lessen the force of Rabbeno's ideas in their English dress. In spite of these defects the translation is accurate and that is more than can be said for most previous attempts to do Italian economics into English.

Professor Rabbeno's book naturally addresses itself to an English reading public and its scholarly character entitles the translation to a wider circulation in this country than the original could ever have enjoyed in Europe.

---

A VERY HANDY summary† of the English Factory Acts and of the growth of the factory system has recently been added to the Social Questions of To-day series. In six chapters Mr. Cooke-Taylor, himself a Royal Factory Inspector, describes the early controversy over the attitude which the government ought to assume toward the newly arisen factories, the acts passed from 1802 to 1891, by the British Parliament designed to protect factory hands and determine

\**The American Commercial Policy. Three Historical Essays.* By UGO RABBENO. Pp. xxix, 414. Price, \$3.25. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1895.

†*The Factory System and the Factory Acts.* By R. W. COOKE-TAYLOR, F. R. S. Pp. viii, 184. Price, 2 s., 6 d. London: Methuen & Co., 1894.

the conditions of factory labor and forecasts the future development of factory legislation. The author writes from full knowledge of his subject and his conclusions are both sound and suggestive.

---

HUGO BILGRAM believes that the government should do a general banking business. In his "Study of the Money Question,"\* he advocates a monetary system involving the issue by the government of credit money to individuals on real estate or other security. He would have no restrictions whatever placed upon the volume of money that might be thus issued, as he believes that the law of demand and supply would be a sufficient regulator. The unit of value may be gold or any other substance. Mr. Bilgram gives no more than the outline of his system and considers only a few of the objections likely to be urged against it. Inasmuch as the issue of money is left to the discretion of individuals, he recognizes the possible dangers of over-issue and inflation, and to avoid these he attempts to demolish the quantity theory of money, insisting that the purchasing power of his credit money, irrespective of the volume, would always coincide with that of gold or the unit of value. In order that the government may not be embarrassed by a lack of gold with which to redeem the credit money when presented for redemption, Mr. Bilgram introduces the element of delay, immediate redemption in gold not being essential. This system will have the advantage, according to Mr. Bilgram, of monetizing all wealth in times of scarcity. He fails to discuss the fact that practically all wealth is now monetized through the agency of banks, and gives no good reason for believing that the government can safely be made a wholesale and retail dealer in credit.

---

MR. CROCKER'S LITTLE book on "The Causes of Hard Times"† is an emphatic statement of the doctrine that general over-production of commodities is possible. The book is clear in style and should be examined by students who are not satisfied with the classical statement with regard to panics and production. Mr. Crocker thinks that the most prominent feature of a panic is an excessive capacity of production, meaning by this that in periods of depression many commodities cannot be sold for prices equal to the cost of production. This condition, he thinks, arises from the excessive

\* *A Study of the Money Question.* By HUGO BILGRAM. Pp. 35. Price, 15 cents. New York: The Humboldt Publishing Company, 1895.

† *The Causes of Hard Times.* By URIEL H. CROCKER. Pp. 114. Price, 50 cents. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1895.

amount of machinery now employed in income-producing investments, resulting from the increase in capital and saving. The remedy for hard times, therefore, lies in measures to increase the demand, and if panics are to be prevented production must be so regulated or restricted that it shall never exceed the demand. Evidently Mr. Crocker means by over-production under-consumption, but, he does not put any emphasis upon the causes which affect consumption or demand, and so lead up to industrial disturbances. He assumes that the mischief is all caused by the increase of commodities offered for exchange, and gives no consideration to the causes which influence the consuming power of a community. This is a radical defect in a book which is really marked by some acute reasoning, although marred by evidences of a rather narrow and captious spirit.

---

THERE IS CERTAINLY great need of a competent treatise on the rights of labor under the law, and Mr. Cogley's book on the "Law of Strikes, Lock-outs and Labor Organizations,"\* although far from being a satisfactory treatise, will prove useful to lawyers and to students. It discusses at considerable length the common law with regard to strikes, boycotts and blacklisting, and quotes freely from recent decisions in both State and federal courts. While the book is full of information, it is not well arranged, lacks perspicacity, and is diffusive where it ought to be compact. It makes, however, a fairly useful companion volume for the compilation of the labor laws of the United States printed as a committee report of the House of Representatives in 1892.

---

ONE OF THE SMALLEST and best pamphlets provoked by the recent silver agitation is Mason A. Green's "Are We Losing the West?"† "It is time," he says in the introduction, "to make a confession. The Eastern and Western States no longer break the bread of friendship together." Mr. Green believes that a new Mason and Dixon's line, running north and south, has been drawn, and he points out some reasons for fear that the people living on the different sides will soon be hopelessly distrustful and suspicious of each other. He discusses the currency question as a national or social issue with much

\* *The Law of Strikes, Lock-outs and Labor Organizations.* By THOMAS S. COGLEY. Pp. 377. Washington, D. C.: W. H. Lowdermilk & Co., 1894.

† *Are We Losing the West?* By MASON A. GREEN. Pp. 31. Price, 10 cents. Boston: Charles E. Brown & Co., 1895.

shrewdness, although it would be easy for a monometallist to find big gaps in his argument.

NUMEROUS BOOKS HAVE been published purporting to describe the forms and technicalities of modern business, and all of them doubtless serve some good purpose, but Mr. Eaton's work\* on banking, securities, etc., is the most helpful thing of the sort that we have seen. It is designed to be a text-book, and aims not to discuss the theories of banking so much as to describe the practical methods by which business is done in banks, stock exchanges and railroad and insurance offices. The book contains fac-simile illustrations of bonds, coupons, foreign and domestic drafts, certificates of deposit, etc. In the hands of a good instructor it can be made helpful to students, but it lacks scientific arrangement and is over-crowded with details that possess little significance or importance. What is really needed in this line is a book that will explain the domestic and foreign exchange business done in this country with the thoroughness that marks George Clare's "The A B C of Foreign Exchanges."† Mr. Clare aims to make the reader understand the whys and wherefores of intricate transactions and at the same time gives him abundant information. Mr. Eaton's book is full of facts and definitions, but there is a dearth of explanation.

WITH THE GROWING interest in social problems and reforms we must expect to be deluged with much so-called sociological literature which will attempt to justify and support partisan reform measures by clothing them in a quasi-scientific garb that may unfortunately deceive the unwary. Of all abused terms none have suffered more than "Applied or Practical Christian Sociology." Rev. Dr. Wilbur F. Crafts has just published his course of five lectures delivered this year at Princeton Theological Seminary and other places in a book entitled "Practical Christian Sociology."‡ It would be an almost useless expenditure of energy to catalogue the mass of heterogeneous matter that has been thrown together within the covers of this book.

\**Banking, Securities, Transportation, Insurance and Foreign Trade. A Text-book for Schools and Colleges.* By SEYMOUR EATON. Pp. 208. Phila.: P. W. Ziegler & Co.

†*The A B C of the Foreign Exchanges. A Practical Guide.* By GEORGE CLARE. Pp. 160. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1893.

‡*Practical Christian Sociology. A Series of Special Lectures before Princeton Theological Seminary and Marietta College, with Supplemental Notes and Appendices.* By Rev. WILBUR F. CRAFTS, Ph. D., with an introduction by JOSEPH COOK, LL. D. Pp. 524. Price, \$1.50. New York: Funk & Wagnall's Company, 1895.

First comes a chart of "full-orbed Christianity," then a poem in verse, then Joseph Cook's introduction of four pages mainly consisting of a biographical sketch of Dr. Crafts, then a mixture of comments about the lectures, quotations about sociology and the Christian idea of God and the world, the author's preface and the author's introduction. A syllabus of the lectures covers the next four pages; then just preceding the text of the first lecture (the same is true also of the four lectures that follow), there is a leaf, on one side of which are a number of quotations, selected evidently because each one usually contains the word social, society or Christianity, and on the other side four small cuts of well-known social reformers. We then find 210 pages devoted to the text of the five lectures, with the exception of a few pages following the report of each lecture which give review questions and themes suggested for debate, discussion and investigation by churches, women's clubs, ministers' meetings, conferences, etc. Some field work in the way of visiting institutions, getting acquainted with labor organizations and becoming familiar with actual conditions generally, is outlined. The suggestions in the pages thus appended are decidedly more useful and valuable than anything to be found in the lectures themselves. The notes referred to throughout the text of the lectures are printed in 117 pages of small type, which constitutes the first appendix. They are much less useful in this form than if they had accompanied the text at the foot of their respective pages; as a rule they add little to the discussion, though in some cases the references to the literature will be welcomed in spite of its partisan, uncritical and often misleading character. This remark is also true of the so-called "brief reading course in practical Christian sociology," given at the close of the book. It is hard to conceive of any justification for the printing of part second of the appendix, which purports to give the chronological data of human progress, etc. We might, perhaps, make exception of Mr. Carroll D. Wright's interesting letter on divorce and the list of questions for a ballot on current reforms. So much for the contents of the book; its whole make-up is unsatisfactory from either a student's or general reader's point of view.

It is open, however, to still severer criticism. To say that it is unscientific is to put it altogether too mildly, it is scarcely less than vicious. There is no attempt to marshal facts or study social phenomena in a fair spirit; it is quite evident throughout that facts have been gathered to support preconceived opinions. The whole book is scarcely more than a collection of opinions, a piece of special-pleading. To claim for it the title sociology, is to degrade still further a much abused word. The book might have been

more truthfully called "A Christian View of Some Present Social Problems." It can lay no claims to more than a shallow discussion of social problems from a partisan and bigoted standpoint, hence its title is misleading. It represents just that type of prejudiced inquiry that usually blocks all true progress in social knowledge and defeats any real social reform. If that is the sort of sociology demanded by the theological seminaries, the old order of things when theological dogma reigned supreme is still preferable, but we must doubtless pass through dark valleys before we can hope to reach the mountain heights.

---

SOME TIME AGO the editor of one of our leading periodicals attempted to connect the prevalence of bad English in our schools with the disuse into which the Bible had fallen in so many families. That the Bible is not read as much to-day as a generation ago, is probably true. But attempts are being made to render the study of the Bible more interesting and more profitable. The most recent book,\* written with this purpose, presents "the New Testament sources for the history of the Apostolic Age" in chronological order. It is assumed that the Epistles and Book of Revelations are genuine writings of that age and in the notes the probable date of each is discussed. The work is done well, and forms a convenient introduction to farther study. The translation followed is that of the edition of 1881.

---

PROFESSOR MYERS HAS added to his long list of histories a new volume on Greece.† This is written for older students and represents a distinct advance over any of his previous text-books. It is well illustrated, supplied with plenty of maps and select bibliographies, together with a pronouncing vocabulary, and thus makes a very attractive introduction to the study of Greek history. It is to be regretted that so much space, relatively, has been given to the political history of Greece and so little—only one-seventh of the whole—to the art, literature and philosophy which have been the chief contributions of Greece to later civilization, and to which Greece owes her place in history. The bibliographical notes are as a rule satisfactory, but we notice the entire omission of one important work, Blummer's "Home Life of the Ancient Greeks," and

\* *The Records and Letters of the Apostolic Age.* By ERNEST DEWITT BURTON. Pp. xix, 238. Price, \$1.50. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895.

† *A History of Greece for Colleges and High Schools.* By PHILIP VAN HESS MYERS, L. H. D. Pp. xiii, 577. Price, \$1.40. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1895.



we regret the absence of comment on some of the titles. Yet, when the author does comment, he is not always happy in his characterizations; *e. g.* Mahaffy is too careless a historian to deserve such high praise as is accorded him (p. 558) for his scholarship.

---

THE SECOND VOLUME of Holm's "History of Greece,"\* confirms the favorable impression produced by the first. Many of the pages, it is true, are little more than mere congeries of facts, dates and figures wholly lacking in literary form. But this is emphatically a short history, and compression is carried to the utmost limit, while no important fact is intentionally neglected. That the author does not lack the ability to write a far more readable history is shown by numerous passages. In fact, we have frequently wished in reading the book that he had not held himself so rigidly to his self-imposed limitations. The plan is the same as in the first volume; facts based on trustworthy records are carefully distinguished from later additions or the inferences of modern scholars.

The period covered is a brilliant one, beginning with the Persian and ending with the Peloponnesian wars. Through his independent study of the sources Holm has reached some conclusions very different from those generally accepted. Especially is this true in regard to the aims of Aristides, Themistocles and Pericles. His summary accounts of the various sides of Greek civilization are excellent. But the most satisfactory portions of the book are the critical notes which form about one-fourth of the volume. The analysis of authorities is masterly; the bibliographical references are sufficiently full and thoroughly up to date. No scholar can afford to neglect Holm's work.

---

IN ITS SECOND edition, Altmann and Bernheim's "*Ausgewählte Urkunden*"† has been enlarged by one-half. The six divisions are the same as in the old edition; Staatsgewalt und Reichsverfassung im allgemeinen, Reich und Kirsche, Ständische Verhältnisse, Heereswesen, Gesichtswesen, Territorien und Städten. Finanzwesen is again excluded. Five documents have been omitted and eighty-three new ones added; of these additions almost half are under the last division.

\* *The History of Greece from its Commencement to the Close of the Independence of the Greek Nation.* BY ADOLPH HOLM. In four volumes, Vol. II. The Fifth Century, B. C. Pp. xvi, 535. Price, \$2.50. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1895.

† *Ausgewählte Urkunden zur Erläuterung der Verfassungsgeschichte Deutschlands im Mittelalter.* VON W. ALTMANN UND E. BERNHEIM. V. II, Auflage. Pp. x, 405. Price, 6.60 Marks. Berlin, 1895.

The bibliographical note for each document, given in the first edition, is omitted and a general reference made to the second edition of Schröder's "*Rechtsgeschichte*."

A few sources of great importance have been omitted, but this is justified in most cases by the fact that they are not, technically speaking, *Urkunden*. This edition is indispensable to the teacher or student of German constitutional history. For the benefit of those who are not familiar with the book, it may be well to add that the original text, whether in Latin or German, is given of each document.

---

THE STUDY OF physical geography in secondary schools has received merited attention since the appearance of the report of the Conference of the Committee of Ten. An elementary text-book \* upon this subject has just been published by Professor Tarr, of Cornell, which is decidedly the best book of the kind that has yet appeared. The first part of the book deals with the air and discusses the earth as the planet of atmosphere; the distribution of temperature; general circulation of the atmosphere; streams; moisture; weather; geographical distribution of animals and plants. In the second part, three chapters are devoted to the ocean and in the third part, which comprises more than half the book, the land is discussed. The treatment throughout is thoroughly in accord with the most advanced ideas in regard to geographical study. The physiographic forces are clearly described. The results which these forces have brought about in the formation of man's environment are depicted and the relationship between that environment and man is briefly stated. At the close of the book a very good chapter is devoted to suggestions to teachers, in which a plea is made for the larger use of investigation on the part of students. This elementary treatise was written by the author from the manuscript of a larger work, which he promises to publish within a year. This larger work will be one well adapted for the use of classes in college and will do much to advance the pursuit of geography as a branch of collegiate instruction.

---

STUDENTS OF ECONOMIC problems, wishing to investigate the subject of present transportation on the Great Lakes, or wishing to find out what problems are connected with the future development of that

\* *Elementary Physical Geography*. By R. S. TARR. Pp. xxxi, 488. Price, \$1.50. New York and London: Macmillan & Co., 1895.

transportation, will find the Report of the International Deep Waterways Convention a veritable mine of information.\* The papers presented at the International Deep Waterways Convention and the discussion which there took place, comprises all that is known at present in regard to the economic and technical problems involved in connecting the Great Lakes with the ocean, by means of the Lake Ship Canal. Among the more interesting questions discussed at the convention, was the influence which the opening of the Chicago Drainage Canal will have upon lake levels. It was concluded that these, together with other causes, will compel the government to regulate the level of the lakes. The opinion of the convention was divided in regard to the feasibility of navigating the lakes and the ocean with the same vessel. Alexander McDougall, the manufacturer of the whaleback lake steamers and a man whose vessels are in use upon the ocean, is of the opinion that the navigation of the lakes and the canal that may be built, connecting the lakes with the ocean, will be carried on in vessels not adapted for ocean voyages. In other words, he believes that the cargoes will be trans-shipped at the lake ports. The purpose of the Deep Waterways Convention was educational. In the wide distribution of its report, it will do much to achieve that purpose.

---

THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE has just published, in a volume of over 500 pages, the proceedings of the second National Conference for Good City Government, held at Minneapolis, December 8, and 10, 1894, and of the first annual meeting of the National Municipal League, which was at the same time the third National Conference for Good City Government, held at Cleveland, May 29, 30, 31, 1895.† The volume gives an exceedingly interesting picture of the condition of the American municipalities at the present time. At the meeting of 1894, emphasis was naturally laid upon the cities of the Northwest, Minneapolis, St. Paul and Milwaukee.

Of papers of a more general character, the most important was that by Professor Edmund J. James, on the "Elements of a Model City Charter." In his address, Professor James points out the peculiar conditions of municipal government in the United States and shows

\* *Proceedings of the First Annual Convention of the International Deep Waterways Association, held at Cleveland, September 24 to 26, 1895.* Prepared for publication by FRANK A. FLOWER. Pp. 465. Price, free, with postage prepaid by receiver. Published by the International Deep Waterways Association, Toronto, 1895.

† Copies of this publication may be obtained from the Secretary of the National Municipal League, Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, 514 Walnut street, Philadelphia. Price, \$1.25, paper, and \$1.50 in cloth.

that we are the only country in which the experiment of governing large cities on the basis of universal suffrage is being made; he furthermore dwells on the advantages of concentration of power in the mayor and executive heads of departments; the bicameral legislature as in harmony with American political ideas; and the consistent application of civil service principles in local administration. In the proceedings of the Conference for 1895 a far greater number of cities was represented. We find papers on Buffalo, Jersey City, and Washington, representing the East; Louisville, Chattanooga, New Orleans, the South; Detroit, the Northwest; Cincinnati, Columbus, Pittsburgh and Allegheny, Omaha, Denver, San Francisco, Portland and Seattle, the West. By thus bringing together the municipal experience of such widely different sections of the country, the value of any general conclusions drawn therefrom is greatly increased.

The fact, furthermore, that the reports at this Conference dealt mainly with the middle-sized cities, which have been almost entirely neglected in recent discussions, adds another element of interest to this volume. From these reports the conclusion may fairly be drawn that, while the conditions of government in these cities are by no means satisfactory, they do not show the full measure of abuses to be found in the larger cities. There seems to be a general consensus of opinion that they are fairly well governed.

---

"THE REPORT ON the Chicago Strike,"\* by the Commission appointed by President Cleveland in July, 1894, is a document of considerable value to the student of the labor question. The report is of less value than the material on which it is based, which comprises a history of the American Railway Union, of the General Managers Association, the Pullman strike, the sympathetic strike by the employes of railroads centring in Chicago, and some 700 pages of testimony from railway men, railway managers, strikers and newspaper reporters. The conclusions and recommendations of the Commission, which occupy only a small part of the volume, are of little consequence compared with the evidence and opinions submitted by the persons directly concerned in this disastrous conflict between capital and labor.

---

SINCE THE PREPARATION of Professor Wuarin's paper upon "Recent Experiments in the Swiss Democracy," which appeared in the November ANNALS, a new illustration of the curious working of the

\* *Report on the Chicago Strike of June-July, 1894.* By the UNITED STATES STRIKE COMMISSION, with appendices containing testimony, proceedings, and recommendations. Pp. 681. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895.

initiative has come to light. In the Canton of Zurich a popular initiative has been projected for the abolition of vivisection. The cantonal government is unfavorable to the proposal and makes a counter proposal of a revision of the laws relating to cruelty to animals. The government is willing to restrict vivisection to purposes of scientific research and instruction, limiting it to the authorities of the university or their assistants, but fears that its complete abolition would seriously injure if not extinguish all researches into bacteriology for which their medical and veterinary schools have a constant need.

---

AN ARDENT ENGLISH protectionist has brought together under the title "*Perils to British Trade*,"\* some good and some bad arguments in favor of his favorite policy. The aim of the book is to show that Great Britain is in a desperate economic condition which threatens ruin to her laboring population, that this condition has been brought about by her blind adherence to a free-trade policy and that the remedy for her ills is the formation of an Imperial Union to consist of the United Kingdom and all the British colonies and to be protected from the competition of the outside world by high tariffs. The style of the book is quite unscientific and the author has failed to make out as strong a case against free trade as a more ingenious writer might have done on the basis of English experience.

---

THE NEW BULLETIN of the Department of Labor which has been announced for several months has made its appearance. The first number is dated November, 1895, and it will be issued in future every other month. Its editorial management is in the hands of Commissioner of Labor Hon. Carroll D. Wright and chief clerk, Mr. Owen W. Weaver.

This first number makes a very respectable contribution of 111 pages to matters of current interest touching the labor question. A brief introduction tells how the bulletin idea originated and was embodied in a bill prepared by Hon. L. E. McGann, Chairman of the House Committee on Labor in the last Congress, and how it received the authorization of Congress. The plan for its publication covers five regular departments. First, a liberal portion of each issue will be occupied with the results of original investigations conducted by the Department or its agents; second, a digest of foreign labor reports; third, a digest of State reports; fourth, the reproduction, immediately

\* *Perils to British Trade*. By EDWIN BURGIS. Pp. 251. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895.

after their passage, of new laws that affect the interests of the working people whenever such are enacted by State Legislatures or Congress; also the reproduction of the decisions of courts interpreting labor laws or passing upon any subject which involves the relations of employer and employe; attention likewise will be called to any other matters pertaining to law which may be of concern and value to the industrial interests of the country and which might not be obtained without expense or trouble from other sources; fifth, a miscellaneous department, in which brief statements of fact or paragraphs of interest may find a place.

The first number adhering to the above general program devotes sixteen pages to a discussion of strikes and lock-outs in the United States from January 1, 1881, to June 30, 1894; then follows twenty-three pages devoted to the same subject in Great Britain, Ireland, France, Italy and Austria in recent years. An article by Mr. George K. Holmes on "Private and Public Debt in the United States," and a digest of the recent labor reports of Connecticut, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, and Wisconsin, comes next in order. In conclusion there is a digest of Miss Collet's monograph on the "Employment of Women and Girls in England and Wales,"\* an article on "Employer and Employe under the Common Law," by V. H. Olmsted and S. D. Fessenden and notes on some foreign labor bureaus.

The Bulletin, as a whole, promises to be an exceedingly useful addition to our governmental reports.

WITH THE VOLUME for 1894, the "Statistical Year-Book of Canada"† enters upon the tenth year of its existence and usefulness. As in former years the book is divided into two parts, "the record" and "the abstract." The record contains a compend of much information which will be invaluable to the student of economic and political science. The present volume has among its new chapters one giving a history and description of the railways of Canada and another containing an account of Canada's trade relations with the United States. "The record" contains the statistical information usually to be found in a year book. The treatment of the several subjects, however, is both descriptive and statistical. The material regarding "trade and commerce" and "railways and canals" is especially full, one hundred pages being devoted to these two chapters.

\* See ANNALS for November, 1895, for note on the same, Sociological Notes, p. 210.

† *The Statistical Year-Book of Canada for 1894* Issued by the Department of Agriculture. Pp. 1134. Government Printing Bureau, Ottawa, 1895.



DR. J. H. HOLLANDER made good use of his vacation in England last summer by unearthing two important sets of Ricardo's letters which English economists had given up for lost. The first consists of a series of twenty-four letters written from 1820 to 1823, addressed to Ricardo's intimate friend, Hutches Trower, Esq., a Surrey country gentleman. Twenty-two of these were written by Ricardo himself and the other two by his son-in-law, Anthony Austin. These last describe the sudden illness and unexpected death of the economist. The second set, found, strangely enough, safely filed away in the British Museum, consists of the missing correspondence with J. R. McCulloch from 1816 to 1823. This includes forty-five numbers, among which are a letter from Malthus and the original of James Mill's letter announcing Ricardo's death. It will be noticed that these letters supplement very completely the correspondence with Malthus which has already been published and thus throw much interesting light upon the personality, political activity and economic thinking of Ricardo during the last years of his life. The Trower letters are to be published soon by the British Economic Association, while the American Economic Association is going to bring out the McCulloch correspondence together with several single letters of Ricardo to Bentham and others. Students of Ricardo will regret the necessity of separating these two sets of letters which belong to the same period and must help to mutually explain each other. The arrangement is explained by the hesitancy manifested by the British Economic Association about bringing out both sets of letters at once.

---

REVIEWS.

*The Life and Letters of Edward A. Freeman, D. C. L., LL. D.*

By W. R. W. STEPHENS, B. D., Dean of Winchester. Two Vols., Pp. 435, 499. Price, \$7.00 London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1895.

The personality of the late Professor Freeman was even more remarkable than his undoubted merits as a historian, and Dean Stephens in his life of the deceased professor has wisely allowed that personality to be manifested through the medium of Freeman's most characteristic letters. Every one who came in contact with him, was struck by the mixture of ferocity and gentleness, of sound learning and occasional faddishness, of sturdy independence and helpless reliance on others, which made up a personality always impressive, but not always congenial or sociable. No man loved or

admired his friends with greater heartiness, no man ever took more unreasonable dislikes or antipathies to individuals, no man who has striven to be impartial has ever shown himself more prejudiced and biased in certain directions. When the history of English historiography during the last fifty years comes to be written, Freeman will doubtless fill a large and important place. But the range of his activity was not confined to the writing of history; he was a keen politician, an ardent sympathizer with the small nationalities in southeastern Europe, which the nineteenth century has seen on the road towards independence, and he made himself known to the vast majority of his fellow countrymen who do not read history, by his uncompromising opposition to the favorite sport of England, fox-hunting. A skillful and active journalist and an excellent lecturer and public speaker, Freeman united a ready pen to a fearless voice in the service of the various causes to which his life was devoted. The ardor of his character made him apt to advocate unpopular views with exaggerated fervor, but his courage in defending what he believed to be right, won for him the respect even of his opponents. This strong personality is excellently displayed in his correspondence and Dean Stephens has done well to restrict his own part as biographer to occasional comments on Freeman's letters, and to brief descriptions of the chief stages in his uneventful life. All who have ever received or read letters from Professor Freeman knew that a rich treat was in store for them when they heard that the historian's family had decided to allow the publication of a collection of his letters. It has often been said that the electric telegraph and cheap postal facilities have killed the art of letter-writing, but the publication of the correspondence of James Russell Lowell and of Professor Freeman, effectually disproves this accusation against the greatest of modern conveniences. In their graceful humor, in their absolute revelation of himself, in the interest of their contents and in the raciness of their style, Freeman's letters present a perfect picture of the writer with all his strength and weakness, his originality of thought and innate prejudices.

Although Freeman, the man, is shown by these volumes to be a more interesting figure than Freeman, the historian, it is by his historical work, that he is generally known in this country, and it is for light on his methods of work as a historian that Dean Stephens' volumes will naturally be studied. It is always necessary in estimating the writings of any historian to study his private character his up-bringing and points of view, in order to discount the work of the writer by a knowledge of his personality. To read Macaulay's "History of England", for instance, without a knowledge of Macau-

lay's political views, simply misguides the student of English history, although it need not detract from the pleasure of the general reader; and in almost every instance, the critical value of the study of history is only to be obtained when the natural bias and the mental attitude of the author have been thoroughly ascertained. Modern scientific historians endeavor as far as possible to eliminate the personal equation in doing their work, and what may be called the objective type of historian is now esteemed above his subjective rival who endeavors not only to relate the history of the course of events, but to convince his readers of the correctness of his own point of view. This ideal is however modern, and until quite recently historians made no effort to keep their personal prejudices out of their writings. Freeman is one of the most subjective of historians. Although the period which he treated did not lend itself to the service of modern political parties as did the period embraced in Macaulay's work, Freeman's mind and nature made him essentially a partisan, and he took sides heartily in the political struggles of the eleventh century and never concealed his admiration for his heroes or his contempt and dislike for their enemies. It is this which makes it especially necessary to obtain a correct view of Freeman's character. He stamped his personality so thoroughly on his books that without a knowledge of that personality, the keynote to his writings is lost. A study of his life and correspondence is therefore particularly necessary in Freeman's case and students of any of his writings must first make themselves familiar with the man if they would derive real benefit from his books. His virtues and faults as a historian were his virtues and faults as a man; his wide knowledge, his accuracy of quotation, his frank partisanship and his vivid realization of past events, his prejudices and his hearty admiration for justice, righteousness and true greatness were characteristic of the man as they were characteristic of the historian. In order then to understand the historian, a full knowledge of the man must be sought, and both Dean Stephens and Mr. Freeman's family and friends deserve most hearty thanks for permitting to be frankly disclosed the nature of the man as exhibited in his letters to his admirers and the public.

The most obvious point in Freeman's life which distinguishes it from that of other English historians is that he was possessed of a sufficient income on which to live without practicing any profession. Like the other bright and shining lights of the Oxford historical school, Bishop Stubbs and Bishop Creighton, Mr. S. R. Gardiner and Mr. J. R. Green, Freeman was not educated at one of the great English schools and was thus, perhaps, the better fitted to fall under

the magic influence of the most ancient, most beautiful and most historic of universities. Ever a loyal son of Trinity College and of Oxford, he was affected like Stubbs and Green and Gardiner and Creighton by the sense of familiarity with bygone ages in the life of the nation which residence at Oxford always inspires into the man with a taste for history, and after obtaining a fellowship he was soon drawn into the line of work for which his intellect and nature were best adapted. His career after leaving Oxford was not eventful; he stood for Parliament and was defeated; he wrote many articles for the *Saturday Review*; he traveled about a great deal, lecturing, attending meetings of archæological societies and visiting scenes of historic events; and in his later years, when the desire for active teaching had almost left him, he reached the goal of one of his earlier ambitions and was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford. Exempted by the possession of a competence from struggling for a livelihood, he was able to pass his life in comfort as an English country gentleman. Happy in his domestic relations, his private life was marked by no great sorrows or violent emotions, and he enjoyed the leisure which every scholar yearns for, but which few obtain. Nor was his life marked by the strenuous intellectual and religious struggles which sometimes make the lives of quiet recluses as fascinating as the adventures of soldiers and travelers; untroubled by the tiresome introspection and unaffected by the religious controversies which rent the heart and mind of another famous scholar of Trinity College, Oxford, John Henry Newman, he was enabled to pursue his life's work without let or hindrance. The epochs in his life are marked by the regular production of his books and no man ever worked under more favorable circumstances. Freeman's correspondence, then, must be studied simply and purely for the information that it gives of his character and methods of work, and not for romantic events or a record of intellectual development.

His faith and ideals as a historian are to be found in his published works and no additional light is thrown upon them by the publication of his letters. In his Rede lecture on "The Unity of History," in his "Lectures to American Audiences," in his "Methods of Historical Study" and elsewhere, Freeman stated his attitude as a teacher and writer of history with such distinctness that it need not be dwelt upon in this connection, but his methods of work are not so generally known. Like Carlyle, he refused to work in great public libraries. Dean Stephens explains this reluctance as proceeding from natural shyness, but whatever may be the cause, the fact must always seem strange to workers in the field of history. Only a man

studying a period in the remote past, for which material is scanty, can attempt to dispense with the use of the great public and private collections of books and manuscripts, and only a man of comparative wealth can afford to purchase all the books he may require upon his special subject. The reluctance to work himself in libraries and great collections was partly made up in Freeman's case by the willingness of his friends to look up information for him and many of his letters contain playful requests for assistance of this sort and cordial thanks for help rendered. In his avoidance of research in libraries and in his refusal to seek after manuscript material, Freeman cannot be commended, and a modern writer of history who should dare to follow his example in this respect, would speedily find himself taken to task by the critics. But characteristic as was Freeman's fault in avoiding public libraries, it was perhaps more than counterbalanced by his characteristic virtue of visiting and seeing with his own eyes the actual sites of the events he described. A considerable portion of his working years was invariably taken up by his travels, and his journeys were made, not in search of recreation, but with definite relation to the work on which he chanced to be engaged. The gospel which he preached to future historians was most important in this respect. What he preached, he practiced. And English historical writers of the present day are expected by their readers to have visited the scenes which they describe and not to take their topography from guide books or atlases. Every reader of the "History of the Norman Conquest," will remember how its pages are illumined with vivid descriptions of historic castles, ancient cities and famous battlefields, and many were the important rectifications in the received narratives, which Freeman was enabled to make from his personal inspection of the places he described. Like his friend, Mr. J. R. Green, Freeman found the face of the land and the remains of ancient buildings the most valuable of documents for the understanding and interpretation of historical events, and his method of personal visits and intelligent examination of the ground, remains as an example to be imitated, even as his avoidance of libraries deserves to be reprobated. In addition to this characteristic side of his method, Freeman had another great merit which is constantly illustrated in his letters. "Always verify your quotations," said the venerable President of Magdalen College, Oxford, Dr. Routh, when he was asked by an undergraduate to give some advice which might aid him in life, and Freeman laid equal stress upon the importance of absolute and scholarly accuracy. Frequent are the allusions in his letters to this prime duty of a historian and every quotation used by him in any of his books, and

every allusion made was always carefully verified in proof by his daughters or by himself. Would that more historians followed Freeman in this respect, for such accuracy is a real boon to the conscientious student and cannot hurt that ubiquitous and troublesome person, the general reader.

To an American reader, the most interesting of Freeman's letters will naturally be those published in the second volume, which were written during his visit to the United States, in 1881-82. His intention in crossing the Atlantic was to visit his son Edgar Freeman, who had married an American lady and settled in Virginia. But the journey was made profitable as well as pleasant by the delivery of courses of lectures in the principal American cities and universities. Freeman's comments on America and Americans are racy, like every thing he wrote, and although abounding in evidence of the violent prejudices which formed the weak side of his character, are striking, and often shrewdly observant. "This would be a grand land," he writes from New Haven, Conn., on December 4, 1881, "if only every Irishman would kill a negro and be hanged for it. I find this sentiment generally approved—sometimes with a qualification that they want Irish and negroes for servants, not being able to get any other. This looks like the ancient human weakness of craving for a subject race. 'Tis grievous that the fine, old, Puritan New Englanders should be all going westward, and Irishmen buying the land." (Vol. II, p. 242,) "I think I get on mightily with all folk here," he writes on another occasion, "save railway folk, who are simply brutal, and often black to boot. But the freed nigger seems to have a fancy generally for making us feel our Aryan inferiority—I am sure 'twas a mistake making them citizens. I feel a creep when I think that one of these great black apes may (in theory) be President. Surely treat your horse kindly; but don't make him consul." (Vol. II, p. 236.) In one passage in the letter written from New Haven which has already been quoted, Freeman sums up the things which he disliked in America, and surprisingly few and trivial they seem to be, excepting, perhaps the last in the list. "I have held forth at Boston, Ithaca, Baltimore and here," he writes. "They are wonderful folk to listen to, but 'tis very hard to get them to cheer or laugh, which is discouraging. On the whole, I don't count this land any stranger than Scotland, hardly so much. But there are some *Illaudabilia Americæ* for a new Giraldu to set down.

"First. They give you no drink water in your bedroom.

"Second. They sit with the door of the room open.

"Third. They eat their meat raw, which they call *rare*.



"Fourth. They call one Professor and Doctor. I was called *Colonel* at Baltimore, which was a pleasing variety, but only in the dark.

"Fifth. Their roads, even in the towns, are worse than any in Swampshire. I tell them that I can't see the difference between Republicans and Democrats, but that I support any party that will take away the mud. How can there be purity of elections, when you have to go through such slush to get to the polls?" (Vol. II, p. 243.) The evidence of his letters proves that Freeman thoroughly enjoyed his visit to America. He rejoiced in Rhode Island, which he called his "pet little State, matching Uri on the other side"; he admired New Haven, "which, bating the lack of old things, is the prettiest town one ever saw"; he humorously delighted in Vassar College, where he likened "the chatter of many girls at dinner in hall to the chirruping of seventy-two thousand grass-hoppers"; he lost his patience with "a she-antiquary who would talk about *Septimus Severus*", and he made a bad pun with regard to a municipal election in Philadelphia, in which he took much interest, by quoting from Virgil, "*Procumbit humi bos*," a pun only intelligible to those who pronounce Latin after the old-fashion.

Delightful as is the whole mass of correspondence in which Freeman reveals himself, published in the two volumes edited by Dean Stephens, an even greater treat is promised in the preface, where it is announced that, at some future date, the correspondence which passed between Freeman and J. R. Green will be issued in a separate volume. It is somewhat of a shock to find how small a place Green fills in the volumes under review but doubtless the omission will be more than made up in the promised work. Freeman and Green stand together in the minds of men and probably will stand together to all time as the first masters of style, who laid before the English speaking world an animated and accurate record of the growth and early development of the English people and the Norman monarchy. It would be invidious to compare the two friends; Green, perhaps, had not Freeman's instinct for accuracy or the wide range of historical erudition, which enabled him to make his points clear by comparisons and contrasts; but on the other hand, Freeman could not boast of Green's exquisite lucidity of style or his feelings for the organic unity of town and province and nation. The promised volume of correspondence will doubtless throw more light upon the historical methods of the late Regius Professor and will presumably give much welcome knowledge of the personal character and habits of mind of the author of the "Short History of the English People." It will certainly show the greatness of the debt which both of them owe to the most famous historian of the Oxford historical school,

the master of them both in wide learning and scientific capacity, Dr. William Stubbs, the present Bishop of Oxford. Freeman rejoiced when appointed to his chair at Oxford at becoming the successor of Stubbs and the following Oxford epigram describes the admiration which the author of the "History of the Norman Conquest" felt for the yet more famous author of "The Constitutional History of England:"

"See, ladling butter from alternate tubs,  
Stubbs butters Freeman, Freeman butters Stubbs."

At present, gratitude to the Dean of Winchester for the care and trouble he has taken in editing and arranging "The Life and Letters of Edward A. Freeman" is heightened by a lively expectation of future pleasures to be enjoyed in the perusal of the correspondence between Freeman and Green. It remains to be added, that the publishers' share in the production of the book is entirely creditable; that portraits are given of Freeman at different ages; and that the index supplied is, what should never have been allowed in the case of so unwearied and painstaking an index-maker as Professor Freeman, entirely inadequate.

H. MORSE STEPHENS.

---

*Études et portraits politiques.* Par NUMA DROZ, Ancien Président de la Confédération Suisse. Pp. 519. Geneva: Ch. Eggimann et Cie. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1895.

No man is so well qualified to pronounce an opinion on Swiss political institutions as M. Droz. At once a scholar and a statesman, he combines with a naturally sound judgment an extraordinary amount of actual experience, for he served as a member of the Federal Council or executive body of the Confederation almost a score of years, and left it the most distinguished public man in the country. Students of the Swiss government will therefore welcome the collection of his essays which has just appeared. These essays were first published as magazine articles at sundry times during the last fifteen years, and they deal with a variety of subjects—historical, political and biographical. Six of them, or one-half of the whole number, are discussions of the political institutions of the Confederation and were written for the most part in consequence of changes, or proposed changes, in the Constitution. Two of the six treat of the organization and method of election of the Federal Council, and in these as elsewhere M. Droz shows that he is a conservative in the true sense; that is, he feels the delicacy of the

present adjustment of forces, and dreads radical changes that would involve serious modifications of the political system before a new equilibrium could be produced. For this reason he deprecates the plan for the election of the Federal Council by the people, an opinion in which careful observers of the Swiss government would generally concur.

Of even greater interest to foreigners are the views of M. Droz on the subject of the Referendum and the Initiative. On this point his feelings have undergone a good deal of alteration, as may be seen by reading the essays written in 1882, 1885, 1894, and 1895. At first he had a strong admiration for the Referendum, but after long experience of its actual working, he became impressed with its defects, and the abuse of which it was susceptible, and although he is still of the opinion that it has done on the whole more good than harm, he now speaks of it without enthusiasm. To the Initiative for partial amendments to the Constitution, at least in its present form, he is, and since the matter was first seriously mooted always has been, decidedly opposed. The Referendum can at the worst only hinder progress by preventing the enactment of needed laws, but the Initiative is capable of being used to accomplish positive harm, and M. Droz thinks that it presents a constant danger to the tranquillity and prosperity of the nation. Perhaps this feeling, which he tells us is very widespread, is increased at the present moment by the fact that Switzerland seems to be passing through one of its periodical conditions of unrest. About once a decade, the people become discontented with the government, but instead of showing it as in other countries by putting the opposition into office, they re-elect the old representatives and give vent to their spite by voting down the laws these men have prepared. Such a method of rebuking the party in power is perhaps quite as sensible as any other, but it is peculiarly discouraging to the members of the government.

Three of the essays are memoirs of Federal Councillors, who have died, and in the course of these M. Droz throws a great deal of light on current politics, and gives us a glimpse of the relations of the Federal Councillors to each other. One of the memoirs, that of the Landamman Heer, also places vividly before us the condition of the cantons with *Landsgemeinde*,—those pure democracies, conducted on aristocratic principles. It is very striking how the young Heer, who was a member of one of the old and wealthy families in his canton, was educated with a deliberate view to political life, and how naturally his fellow-citizens took it for granted that he would hold public offices as soon as he was old enough to do so.

It is impossible in a review of this length to give an idea of the contents of all the essays, but no student of the Swiss government should fail to read them for himself.

A. LAWRENCE LOWELL.

---

*Outlines of English Industrial History.* By W. CUNNINGHAM, D.D. and ELLEN A. MCARTHUR. Pp. xii, 274. Price, \$1.50. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1895.

To compress into ten brief chapters a clear and straightforward account of English industrial history is a task as difficult, as the need for its performance is urgent. It would be ungracious to criticise harshly the first essay in this field, were it not that criticism may point out mistakes in method and arrangement of material which may be corrected in a later edition. At the very outset the authors of the book under review, do violence to the logical instincts of the economic reader by considering the character of the "immigrants to Britain" in advance of the "physical conditions" which help to explain the immigrations and constitute the chief factor in the subsequent industrial development. What is said about the "physical conditions" in the second chapter, moreover, seems strangely lacking in perspective. Mineral wealth is taken up before anything is said of the agricultural resources of the country, and tin, lead, coal and iron are treated as if they had contributed about equal shares to English prosperity. Finally, the isolated situation of the Island and the facilities afforded to the development of commerce are considered at the very close of the chapter. The result of this treatment is to give the uninstructed reader a most erroneous impression as to the relative importance of nature's different contributions to England's greatness. One need not subscribe to the statement, so frequently made, that English prosperity has depended at different epochs solely upon the three factors, wool, coal and iron, to find fault with a treatment which puts these upon a level with wheat, tin and lead.

The chapters on "Manors" and "Towns" are the best in the book and have borrowed largely from the first volume of Ashley's "English Economic History," but even here the narrative is uneven and important links are left to the imagination of the reader. No satisfactory explanation is offered of the reasons which led to the decay of the Merchant and Craft Gilds and so few details are given concerning these institutions that their real character remains a matter of mystery.

Beginning with chapter six, we have the unqualified adoption of the topical method and are able to see most clearly the weakness of this form of arrangement in a book which aims at nothing, if not to furnish an outline sketch of English industrial history. In one section of ten pages we are whirled along under the title, "the food supply," from the agricultural migrations and changes following the Black Death (1349) to the Corn Law agitation following the Napoleonic wars and resulting in the introduction of free trade in 1846. Confusion and false notions as to the real sequences of things are the natural consequence. Subsequent sections and chapters are nearly as bad. Under the titles, "Money, Credit and Finance," "Agriculture," and "Labor and Capital," we have short chapters on these subjects each one of which covers a period of from two to four centuries. To expect a student to get any definite idea of the course of the industrial development of the country as a whole from the perusal of these pages is a dream which any attempt to use it as a text-book quickly dispels. For convenience in grouping together facts in a hand-book, the topical method certainly possesses substantial advantages, but when the object is to give a brief sketch of a particular department or period of history no system of arrangement could be worse chosen for the purpose.

One more defect in the book before us is that it seems to take for granted a great deal of knowledge on the part of the reader about the subject of which it treats. It does not always give the essential facts, but instead proceeds at once to the question of interpreting the facts. For example in the account given of the craft guilds the question as to whether the apprentices were well or ill treated is discussed (pp. 65-66), although no account whatever has been given of the apprentice system or why it grew up in connection with the guilds. This would be excusable in a book designed for specialists, but in an elementary treatise, which claims for itself only the merits of a compilation, it is a serious fault.

The field of industrial history is broad and it is always a serious question in an elementary work what to leave out. If our authors had not attempted to push their narrative into the period of modern industrial processes no fault could have been found with them. But as a matter of fact the history of some institutions (*e.g.* the Corn Laws) is followed down to the middle of our own century, and in the chapter on "Labor and Capital" an attempt is made to describe the industrial changes which resulted from the application of steam and machinery to industry. This seems to justify us in considering the period covered as extending down to 1850. If this was the intention of the authors they have done but scant justice to the events

which happened during the last hundred years of which they treat, and which raised England from the position of a second-rate power to that of the first country of the world. But enough of fault-finding. The "Outlines of English Industrial History" is the only work of the kind we have and with all its defects will supply the need which many teachers of political economy feel of something to serve as an antidote for too much and too dogmatic economic theory.

HENRY R. SEAGER.

---

*Benjamin Franklin as an Economist.* By W. A. WETZEL, A.M.  
Pp. 58. Price, 50 cents. Johns Hopkins University Studies in  
Historical and Political Science. September, 1895. Baltimore.

The purpose of this monograph is to show that "Franklin is the first American who deserves to be dignified by the title economist." Briefly, clearly, and, as we think, successfully, the author proves his proposition. It is to be regretted that the monograph is not more exhaustive and that it lacks continuity. There is, however, no other equally brief and convenient résumé of the subject.

Mr. Wetzel has subdivided his subject into twelve chapters; the first being on the "Economic Works of Franklin," in which their titles and the essential character of each are indicated. In the second, on "Paper Money and Interest," the citations show Franklin's ideas of the nature of money and of interest; the conclusions drawn by the author being that Franklin believed first, that "money as a coin may have a value higher than its bullion value," and, too, that natural interest is determined by "the rent of so much land as the money lent will buy." The third chapter on "Wages," with scanty reference to Franklin's ideas, concludes with: "it would be idle to look for a scientific law of wages in Franklin's writings," and that the theory of wages which Franklin held was that "high wages are not inconsistent with a large foreign trade."

The fourth chapter on "Population" denies to Franklin the first formulation of that law which later was more elaborately worked out by Ricardo, and also denies that Franklin's work suggested the work of Malthus, particularly the "Essay on Population." Mr. Wetzel's unwillingness to believe that Malthus based this portion of his work on any prior work of Franklin's is, however, somewhat diminished in value by the author's statement that "inasmuch as Malthus in the interval between the appearance of the first and the second edition of his work made himself familiar with "Franklin's writings on population, one is led to believe that the influence of



Franklin may be seen in Malthus' preventive check to the increase of population." The conclusions which the author draws from Franklin's ideas of population, are, first, that population will increase as the means of gaining a living increase; second, that a high standard of living serves to prolong single life and thus acts as a check to the increase of population; and, third, that the people are adjusted among the different countries according to the comparative well-being of mankind.

In the fifth chapter on "Value," Mr. Wetzel prints in parallel columns quotations from Franklin's monograph on "The Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency," 1729; and from Petty's "Essay on Taxes and Contributions," written in 1662. Because of the likeness between the passages quoted, Mr. Wetzel concludes that "Franklin, who lived in London in 1724, must have known of Petty's work," and, therefore, that it is incorrect to call Franklin "the father of the labor theory of value." From his exceedingly brief examination of Franklin's ideas of value, the author states Franklin's idea of the subject to be that, "the value of an article is determined by the amount of labor necessary to produce the food consumed in making the article."

The sixth chapter on "Agriculture," briefer than any of the others, is also least satisfactory. It is not enough to say that "Franklin estimated very highly the value of agriculture in his economic system." It would be more in accord with Franklin's ideas to say that he put agriculture at the centre of his economic system. No portion of Franklin's works is greater than his writings on agriculture, in his correspondence; in his pamphlets and papers, and in his speeches. When Franklin lived, America was agricultural. The monograph is seriously defective in its attempt to state Franklin's ideas of agriculture as an economic factor in life; he and Jefferson were the two Americans of the eighteenth century who founded all their ideas of social, political and educational affairs on agriculture. In spite of these facts, the author devotes more of his monograph to manufactures than to agriculture. His conclusion in regard to Franklin's position as to the value of agriculture is, undoubtedly, the true one, that "while manufactures are advantageous, only agriculture is truly productive." It is to be regretted that the author who has so judiciously though briefly represented Franklin's economic ideas on other subjects, should have treated his ideas on agriculture so scantily. After citing from the works of Franklin, he draws his conclusion of Franklin's ideas on manufactures that they "will naturally spring up in a country as the country becomes ripe for them."

The eighth chapter on "Free Trade" reaches the conclusion that "free trade with the world will give the greatest return at the least expense," and the chapter on "Taxation" that "wherever practicable, state revenues should be raised by direct taxes." The chapters remaining on "Franklin and the Physiocrats" and on "Franklin and the English Philosophers," enter into the theories of the state, and Franklin's association with Quesnay, Nemours, Du Bourg, Turgot, Lord Kames, Hume and Adam Smith. These are interesting chapters and lead the reader to conclude that in this group of eminent thinkers, Franklin was not the least, and possibly, in some respects the greatest. The author's conclusions are, that "Franklin was a man who understood thoroughly the working of certain economic principles." He represents Franklin as participating in, and perhaps as leading "the reaction of the eighteenth century against artificial conditions of life;" that "Franklin was more than a man of expedients," and that "he had some knowledge of economic science as it had been developed up to his time." The monograph concludes with a brief bibliography.

The work which Mr. Wetzel has done is timely, highly creditable and suggestive, and will be welcomed by all who are interested in the dominating ideas of the eighteenth century. It is to be hoped that the author will develop his subject and enlarge his monograph into a treatise worthy of the theme. His present work points to him as the person to continue it.

FRANCIS N. THORPE.

---

*Sir William Petty, a Study in English Economic Literature.* By WILSON LLOYD BEVAN. Pp. 105. Price, 75 cents. Publications of the American Economic Association. Vol. IX, No. 4, August, 1894. New York: Macmillan & Co.

*The Life of Sir William Petty; chiefly derived from Private Documents hitherto Unpublished.* By Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE. London: John Murray, 1895.

Until very recently Petty's current reputation fell as far short of his deserts as the estimate of his contemporaries had been in excess of his merits. Pepys found him "one of the most rational men that ever he heard speak with a tongue," and Evelyn so admired his "wisdom in council and prudent matters of state," that were he a prince he would have made Petty his "second counsellor at least." Nevertheless, Petty received, until the publication of Dr. Ingram's articles, but slight attention in Great Britain. A careful

reprint of his "Political Arithmetic" was indeed issued by Edward Arber, antiquarian, and a slovenly reprint of his "Essays" by Henry Morley, litterateur. To English economists, however, the greater portion of his writings remained, for aught that appears, substantially unknown. Within the past year Dr. Bevan's economic "Study" of Petty has been followed by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice's more political "Life," and we now have abundant opportunity to know Petty as a man. But so long as our direct knowledge of Petty as economist and statistician continues to be based, for the most part, upon excerpts selected by the unhistorical McCulloch, his writings must still fail of that appreciation to which their extent, their acuteness, and their cogency indubitably entitle them.

Petty was born in 1623, the son of a poor clothier, and died in 1687, the recipient, by his own calculation, of an income of 12,000 pounds, due to his own efforts. He was a precocious child, a born mathematician and mechanic. At fifteen he was in France, learning French, talking Latin with Jesuit fathers, and already playing the merchant of "pittiful brass things with cool'd glasse in them instead of diamonds and rubies." And always hereafter even when apparently most absorbed in scientific experiments, he remained throughout his life, the strenuous man of business. Having studied medicine at Utrecht, Leyden, Amsterdam, and Paris, he became, in 1650, Professor of Anatomy at Oxford, where he was an animating spirit of that little group of "natural philosophers" whose subsequent union with their fellows in London produced the Royal Society. In 1654 he went to Ireland as physician to the Lord Lieutenant and the army. There he executed, in thirteen months, a cadestral survey of a large part of the kingdom, dabbling incidentally in Cromwellian land-debentures and laying the foundation of his much-prized fortune. Returning to London, he won the King's favor at the Restoration, became a charter member of the Royal Society, and wrote and published his remarkable "Treatise of Taxes and Contributions." To trace his life during the next quarter of a century would require more space than can be afforded. He resided much in Ireland, improving his estates, he tried in vain to bring about the erection of a royal statistical bureau under his own direction, and he wrote, "as a sample of the Political Arithmetic" he had "long aimed at," nearly a score of semi-statistical pamphlets. Some of them were published at the time, some were first printed after his death, and some still slumber in manuscript.

Lord Fitzmaurice's "Life of Petty" consists of two principal parts, separated by a chapter on "Political Arithmetic." In the

first part are described Petty's early life, his pre-restoration activity in Ireland—including a rather lengthy account of the various "surveys" and "settlements" of that unhappy island between 1641 and 1660,—his parliamentary dispute with Sankey, his experiments with the "double bottomed" ship, his struggle with the farmers of the Irish revenue, and his marriage. Here Lord Fitzmaurice writes chiefly from sources already well known: from Aubrey, Pepys, Evelyn and the *Athenæ Oxonienses*, from Ward's "Professors of Gresham College" and Hardinge, from a dozen of Petty's letters printed in Boyle's works and elsewhere, and from Petty's curious autobiographic will. Relatively little that is new appears. The latter part of the "Life," on the contrary, brings to light a large share of Petty's voluminous correspondence with Sir Robert Southwell and several unprinted letters to Lady Petty. The author supplies occasional connecting links, which fail sometimes to accomplish their purpose. Taken by itself, however, the correspondence proves Petty a surprisingly good letter writer, even for the seventeenth century, and his letters suffer neither in point, wit, nor style, when thus compared with the rather hurried writing of his descendant. They reveal many little traits of character, not all of them amiable; they give color and vivacity to the picture.

The economic interest of Lord Fitzmaurice's book centres in the seventh chapter—"Political Arithmetic." Upon Dr. Bevan's somewhat scrappy analysis of Petty's economic notions, this chapter seems to me a distinct improvement. Yet I cannot help feeling that the whole is colored by the biographers' preconceived notions. Lord Fitzmaurice is, apparently, one of those fortunate men who, in Justin McCarthy's significant phrase, "know political economy" with all the finality with which they "know" Euclid or *Persicos odi*. Of the political phases of Petty's life and times his knowledge is, so far as I can judge, quite adequate. But a somewhat fuller acquaintance with the industrial conditions following the Restoration, and somewhat wider reading of other economic writers of the same period, might have helped to a more definite estimate of Petty's relative merits, and must have resulted, I fancy, in a higher appreciation of the unique "Observations upon the Bills of Mortality", than is displayed. Taken all in all, however, the "Life of Sir William Petty" remains, in spite of occasional inaccuracies and somewhat careless printing, the most satisfactory source of information available concerning a writer who was, perhaps, the ablest of English economists before Hume.

CHARLES H. HULL.

*The History of Currency, 1252-1894. Being an Account of the Gold and Silver Moneys and Monetary Standards of Europe and America, together with an Examination of the Effects of Currency and Exchange Phenomena on Commercial and National Progress and Well-being.* By W. A. SHAW. [Second Edition.] \*Pp. xxx, 437. Price, \$3.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. London: Wilson & Milne, 1896.

If we are to allow ourselves to be influenced, as some writers seem to intimate, in our judgment as to the theoretical soundness and practicability of bimetallism, by a mere show of hands or count of "great heads," then the advocates of a single standard can undoubtedly cite a larger number of the great economists who have pronounced opinions adverse to bimetallism than the defenders of a double standard can in its favor. Sir William Petty, John Locke and Sir Isaac Newton, Adam Smith and David Ricardo, Bagehot, Jevons and Cairnes, writers whose authority and dominating influence is pre-eminent in the history of the economic and monetary sciences, have all declared against the bimetallic standard as an exchange medium. A government or governments, they maintain, cannot, by mere legislative decree, work successfully a double standard either within a nation or within the territories of the leading industrial nations leagued together expressly for this purpose. Still further the leading statistical experts who have made investigations into the history of the actual workings of bimetallism have come to equally hostile conclusions. Among them are notably, Lord Liverpool and Robert Giffen of England, Adolph Soetbeer of Germany, and Laughlin, Wells, Taussig and Atkinson, of the United States. To the names of this latter class of authorities we must now add that of Mr. W. A. Shaw's, of England, who gives us this substantial volume on the "History of Currency" from 1252 to 1894, which shows exceedingly careful work and extended research. "The verdict of history" says Mr. Shaw "on the great problem of the nineteenth century—Bimetallism—is clear and crushing, and final, and against the evidence of history no gainsaying of theory ought for a moment to stand."

The work before us traces in a very painstaking manner the various, almost bewildering fluctuations of the gold and silver values as they affected corresponding changes in the currencies of the leading industrial nations of Europe from the middle of the thirteenth century down to the closing of the Indian mints in 1894. Mr. Shaw confines his labors strictly to the history of metallic currencies and standards. He does not venture in any way to treat the paper currencies of the first French Republic, of the United States and of

Austria. The history of modern currencies begins, according to Mr. Shaw, in the Italian peninsula in 1252, when the Florentine mints began coining gold florins. Previous to that date, for two centuries anyway, the yellow metal had, for all practical purposes, gone entirely out of use as a monetary medium and the basis of the currencies of the various nations of mediæval Europe was silver. Beginning with Italy he follows the endlessly winding and criss-crossing changes in the mint and market values and ratios of silver and gold in the German States, France, Spain, Holland and Belgium, England, the United States and India. He divides his work into three general periods: (1) From the Commencement of Gold Coinage to the Discovery of America; (2) From the Discovery of America to the End of the First Cycle of the Influence of the Metals of the New World on European Currencies, 1660; (3) From the End of the First Cycle to the Present Day. He treats each nation separately in each period. Numerous statistical tables and charts showing the movements of the values of the precious metals in each country, accompanying his narrative. Six extended appendices, giving a large amount of minute technical information in regard to the coins and coinage laws of Florence, Venice, Spain, The Netherlands, Germany, Austria and Prussia, and France constitute one of the most valuable portions of this volume.

The purpose of this work, Mr. Shaw tells us, is "first and foremost to illustrate a question of principle by the aid of historic test and application; secondly, to furnish for the use of historical students an elementary hand-book of the currencies of the most important European States." Among those who will read this volume carefully there will probably be little or no question that he accomplishes his first purpose in a most striking and convincing manner. But we doubt very much whether the same verdict will be as generally accorded his efforts to attain to the second object. It may with some propriety be called a hand-book of the currencies for monetary experts and specialists in the history of metallic currencies; but the author has wholly misjudged the average student's capacity and character if he believes or hopes that he will have the courage and persistence to follow his meagre narrative of currency changes covering a period of almost six centuries and a half, mastering the multitudinous details of ratios and coinage regulations. Mr. Shaw is too brief, too succinct to be at all interesting to the ordinary reader and student. The novice and those addicted to much indulgence in *a priori* theory will not care to push their weary way through these three hundred pages bristling with formidable figures, statistical tables and illustrated charts—especially will they hang



back if they perceive soon after they enter upon their reading that conclusions subversive of their own preconceived notions greet them with exasperating frequency. It will only be the serious, painstaking advanced student who has an overweening enthusiasm for dry details who will and can profit by Mr. Shaw's valuable work. For the latter it will prove a veritable gold mine.

To those interested in the great question of the free coinage of silver by the United States Government at the ratio of 16 to 1, and to those desirous of seeing international bimetallism inaugurated by the chief industrial nations of the world this work contains some startling conclusions. If there is one argument the bimetallist banks on and iterates and reiterates at all times and seasons, it is the compensatory or equalizing effect of the metallic standard; and his stock example has always been the results of the bimetallic law of France lasting from 1803 to 1873 in restraining the fluctuations in the relative values of gold and silver, particularly during the great gold discoveries of the middle of the century. The claim that the action of France gave the world "a fixed and steady ratio" during this period, he declares to be wholly "fallacious." "At no point of time during the present century has the actual market ratio, dependent on the commercial value of silver, corresponded with the French ratio of  $15\frac{1}{2}$ , and at no point of time has France been free from the disastrous influence of that want of correspondence between the legal and the commercial ratio. The opposite notion, which prevails and finds expression in the ephemeral bimetallic literature of to-day, is simply due to ignorance." (p. 178.) This uncompromising statement Mr. Shaw backs up by an array of figures and a colored chart of the variations that will make the most obdurate advocate of free coinage and international bimetallism pause.

FRANK I. HERRIOTT.

---

*Statistics and Sociology. (Science of Statistics, Part I.)* By RICHMOND MAYO-SMITH. Pp. 400. Price, \$3.00. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1895.

Professor Mayo-Smith's long expected work on statistics is sure to take front rank in the literature of the subject in the English language. It is not a book of statistical references, but is rather a work devoted to the interpretation of statistical data. Thus it fills the place corresponding in foreign literature to such works as those of Block\* and von Mayr,† which in our literature has thus far been

\* "*Traité de statistique.*"

† "*Die Gesetzmässigkeit in Gesellschaftsleben.*"

vacant. Scattered through the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* and in the works of Farr, Newsholme and Longstaff will be found many of the materials upon which such a systematic treatment as that of Professor Mayo-Smith could be built up, but we have hitherto been without a comprehensive summing up of the facts disclosed by statistics in regard to the sociological aspects of population. This constitutes the significance of the present work. The success which greeted Professor Mayo-Smith's earlier sketch, "Statistics and Economics," will doubtless be accorded in still greater measure to his more ambitious effort. The situation of our statistical literature is such that even a poor performance in this field would be of importance. A work which has the scholarly character of the present volume can count upon an assured success.

In his introductory chapter the author discusses the relation of statistics to sociology under the pertinent title "Statistics in the Service of Sociology." The latter science is for him the study of social organization. He cannot conceal the fact that sociologists are far from any agreement as to the essential elements of social organization, but he has the conviction that the majority have gone too far afield in their search. The result is inevitably an ill-digested, unasorted mass of fact, from whose classification no order or system can be obtained. Thus the sociologist is overwhelmed by his material, and unless he exercises some principle of selection involves his science in his own shipwreck. The phenomena which he has to study are the relations and interaction of social groups with and upon each other. Social groups constitute population, and it is only in the analysis of population that they can be studied.

Population can be studied under the aspects of its structure in demographic social and ethnographic classes, its physical environment, its social environment, and the interaction of these upon one another. "Such is the field of sociology, large, indeed, but perfectly well defined."\* It follows as a matter of course that the all important instrument in such investigation is to be found in statistics without whose aid sociology wanders off into vague descriptive efforts, and builds up systems on analogies more or less fanciful. It lacks the concrete basis of fact without which inductive science is a misnomer.

As the instrument of sociology statistics is of the utmost importance and a preliminary investigation of its criteria† becomes essential. The brief statement of the main elements of statistical method with its pitfalls and inaccuracies is admirable as far as it

\* Page 7.

† Chapter II.

goes. Whatever opinion may be held of Professor Mayo-Smith as a sociologist his competence as a statistician is beyond dispute. Intimately connected with the discussion of statistical method in general is the author's exposition of the plan followed throughout the work. He discusses, the "sociological purpose" of the inquiry, the available "statistical data," the "scientific tests" of the accuracy, and appropriateness of the figures commonly used and concludes with a "reflective analysis" of the results obtained. This formal arrangement is rigidly adhered to in each chapter which follows.

Having thus characterized somewhat in detail the author's general attitude it is perhaps unnecessary to follow him through the treatment of the remaining chapters. He brings us an abundance of concrete facts skillfully woven together in a compact narrative. His work now falls into several books which correspond to the divisions made in the introduction. The first (pp. 36-177) treats of the demographic features of population, sex, age, conjugal condition, births, marriages, deaths and sickness. This is the most satisfactory portion of the work, for the whole field of demographic research is carefully covered, and an acute analysis of the data and conclusions based upon them is given. Statisticians will note with satisfaction the prominence given to the factor social condition in the explanation of phenomena too often carelessly ascribed to climatic and other physical causes. The second book (pp. 181-288) treats of social features of population. The title seems hardly well chosen for a division which includes in addition to families, dwellings, education, religious confessions and occupations, chapters on the infirm and dependent, on suicide and on crime. In the third book on ethnographic features, are treated race, nationality and migrations. The concluding fourth book discusses physical environment, relation of population to the territory which it inhabits, and social environment, the size of communities and the concentration of population in cities. This enumeration of subjects must serve as an indication of the specific contents of the book. To do equal justice to all parts it would require far more space than the limits of a review allow, should we attempt to summarize the contents for those unfamiliar with statistical research. To others the titles of chapters will give a sufficient clue to their contents.

Our exposition of the plan and contents of the work leads us to certain general critical observations, which appear especially important in view of the place which Professor Mayo-Smith's work seems destined to take in our statistical literature.

We cannot feel that the general tone of the introduction is happy,

for it will satisfy neither sociologist nor statistician. While the author declines to discuss the question whether statistics is the whole of sociology or merely a science of method, he ignores his disclaimer and treats statistics as if it were the science of sociology. This general attitude will embarrass him when he puts out his second volume, "Statistics and Economics." The attempt, should he make it, to master economic life, as he has tried to master social life, by the aid of statistics, will have far less chance of success. He will then appear to have two sciences of statistics, one sociological, the other economic in its content. This confusion is the inevitable result of attempting to treat statistics as a science of objective fact. Formulations of the "object" of statistical research err in vagueness or in narrowness. In the first case they embrace unrelated fields of research, in the second case they fail to embrace many phenomena which the formulation should include. The only unambiguous attitude toward the science of statistics is that it is essentially a science of method.

We would not wish to appear as threshing over old straw and feel it necessary to define further the purport of the foregoing criticism. It is not in any sense to depreciate the value of such a work as that of Professor Mayo-Smith. On the contrary we believe that it has a greater usefulness than such a work as that of Meitzen, which treats exclusively of statistical method, and is only vaguely comprehensible to the general reader. The latter and the student of economics will gain more insight into statistical method from Professor Mayo-Smith's book than from Meitzen. The writer has been firmly convinced by experience that the only practicable way of teaching statistics is to take it up on its objective or concrete side rather than its methodological or abstract side.

The distinction is not, however, without a difference. There is a fundamental and an important difference of *emphasis*. If the work in question had treated the method as the essential point in statistical science, the author would have rearranged his chapters, and had he treated his data as exemplifications of statistical method, interesting for their own sake, it is true, but not necessarily intimately organically connected, he would have avoided any semblance of quarrel with the sociologists. As it is they may justly claim that his work is not well rounded, and that it is incomplete. The relative proportion of one chapter to another, depends rather on the wealth of statistical material, than on their organic connection, while the factor of social condition, so justly emphasized by the author, receives a scanty treatment at his hands. The sociologist would undoubtedly demand that the questions of income and the like,

which characterize the social position of the wage-earner, should find a treatment in this book rather than in the promised second part. If we may anticipate the contents of the second part from what we have before us we may foresee a like difficulty between the author and the economists.

A second criticism concerns the rigid formalism of the book, which is partly an outcome of the author's attitude toward sociology. Each chapter is divided into four heads—sociological purpose, statistical data, scientific tests and reflective analysis. Such a formal method need not shock the statistician, but he would naturally apply to it the maxim, that each column in a table should always contain the same thing and serve a distinct purpose. Two of the author's categories, sociological purpose and reflective analysis, run into one another continually. If the first is long in any chapter, the second is short. Unless he borrows materials from his reflective analysis, the author's sociological purpose can usually be summarized as follows: The purpose of this chapter is to find out the facts. The term sociological purpose at the heading of each chapter has an aspect of profundity which is totally belied by its contents. Nor can it be discerned that the author has always distinctly separated his scientific tests from the exposition of the statistical data. To have the value which the author ascribes to it\* such a formal arrangement should be adhered to not on the surface only, but in the real body of the treatment.

A third criticism pertains to the statistical material upon which conclusions are based. In many chapters it is drawn exclusively from foreign sources. The author shows a wide acquaintance with the results of research in foreign lands, which shall not be contested. The statistician knows that where material relating to the United States is not given it is often because satisfactory data are not available. Yet the general reader of an American book looks for such data and does not know that they do not exist. In many cases, however, statistical data relating to the United States, or at least a part of it, might have been introduced where we find no clue to our home conditions. In view of a popular statement so often repeated that it is generally believed, that conditions in the United States are altogether different from those in European countries, the omission of American data becomes a serious defect.

It will be observed that our criticisms have thus far touched only upon the general features of the work. Taking each chapter by itself, considering it apart from the entire work, it must be said

\* Page vi.

that Professor Mayo-Smith's work has been well done. It is closely reasoned when there is occasion for analysis. The main statistical facts are presented without greatly encumbering the text with tabular matter, and in such a way as to leave no doubt as to their proper interpretation. Viewed by the topics considered, there is little criticism to be made except for a certain awkwardness of presentation which results from the author's formal division of his material. It may be said that Professor Mayo-Smith has executed better than he planned. In the treatment of special topics the statistician will recognize with pleasure his skillful analysis of the material presented, and his eminently sane and cautious conclusions. It is the best praise which can be allowed to a statistician, that he does not overvalue the significance of his materials, and this can be accorded to Professor Mayo-Smith in the fullest sense.

ROLAND P. FALKNER.

---

*Vergil in the Middle Ages.* By DOMENICO COMPARETTI. Translated by E. F. L. BENECKE. Pp. xvi, 376. Price, \$2.50. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1895.

In the first part of this work, "the Vergil of Literary Tradition," Professor Comparetti traces the poet's popularity from the best days of the Empire down through the Middle Ages. He brings out forcibly the importance of "the grammatical, rhetorical and erudite elements," in the *Æneid* in preserving Vergil's fame during the period of decadence. He then shows to what extent the scholastic traditions survived in the Middle Ages and how far Vergil's reputation was affected by his supposed prophecy of Christ (in the Fourth Eclogue). After setting forth the various uses to which the poet was put in the Middle Ages, he concludes with an analysis of the Vergil of the Divine Comedy and of the Dolopathos. This section is considerably longer than the second and contains several excellent chapters, analyzing various tendencies of mediæval thought. Especially good are the essays on "Christianity and the Middle Ages," "grammatical and rhetorical studies in the Middle Ages," and "clerical conception of antiquity in the Middle Ages." The two chapters on Dante will be read with keen interest.

But the first part of the book is really subsidiary to the second, "the Vergil of popular legend." Previous writers had almost entirely neglected to trace back the literary tradition, and consequently their works on Vergil, the magician, lacked completeness. The popular legends can be explained only when one understands how



Vergil was regarded by scholars. In the literary traditions we find the seeds which grew up later as the conception of a mighty wizard, who protected the city of Naples from all evils. The tales are very naïve, the bronze fly, the bronze horse, the bronze statue with bent bow, the palladium in a narrow-necked bottle; but they are instructive in a study of the mediæval intellect. The author shows how the legends originated at Naples, were transferred in part to Rome, and thence entered into the popular literatures of all western Europe.

The whole volume is of great interest. Many apparent inconsistencies are explained; for example, the frequent association, in renaissance art, of Vergil with David, Isaiah and the other prophets and his connection with the "Bocca della Verità." The illustrations are drawn from a wide range of reading; and the whole has been carefully analyzed and reproduced in an exceptionally clear and interesting form. In fact, the work in Italian has long enjoyed a recognition justly due to its many merits.

The translation is accurate and easy in style, (too easy occasionally, see *e. g.*, p. 361). It has been made from the proof sheets of the second edition, so that it "has the advantage of the author's latest revision." But we venture to say that his revision is not very thorough, as we find unchanged some references which, although in place at the time the book was first published, should now be altered to later and more scholarly editions. The greatest fault of the work is the lack of an index. The volume contains a wealth of information and of references to many important topics, but we have not even head-lines to guide us in a search for any particular subject. This is peculiarly exasperating in a book which might be valuable to a careful student.

DANA C. MUNRO.

---

*Histoire des institutions monarchiques dans le royaume latin de Jerusalem, 1099-1291.* Par GASTON DODU. Pp. xiv., 381. Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1894.

In the six chapters of this work, M. Dodu describes the geographical and political conditions of the kingdom, the character of the Latin monarchy; the military service; the financial organization; the judicial power; and the relations existing between the king and the clergy.

According to the author's views, the king was restricted at every point in the exercise of his powers. As political and military chief he was dependent on the good-will of the barons. In judicial

matters he merely presided over and announced the decisions of a court of the barons. He was always in financial straits. His income, which should have been large, if we consider its extensive sources, was constantly depleted by concessions to individuals and orders, in order to obtain their aid. Each new body of crusaders might prove a source of weakness to the cause as their good-will had to be bought by new concessions, and these were always permanent. The monarch was frequently at strife with the clergy, because the latter were attempting to carry out the Gregorian program.

Most of these statements are undoubtedly accurate. M. Dodu's work nevertheless is open to grave criticism. The period which we wish to understand is that before the capture of Jerusalem in 1187. After that the kingdom was never powerful; the kings were, for the most part, mere figure-heads. Jerusalem was recovered only for a brief period by the diplomatic successes of Frederic II. The last hundred years have little interest in a study of the causes of the downfall of the kingdom. Now the source on which our author mainly relies for the interpretation of the attributes of the monarch is the work of Jean d'Ibelin. This author wrote about 1255, and does not himself profess to give an exact picture of the conditions which existed before that time. He had been at war with Frederic II, and had an interest in belittling the power of the king, as had also the other authors of the time who furnish almost all the material which M. Dodu has used. It is very easy to point out errors in Jean d'Ibelin's book; *e. g.*, his account of the coronation of the kings, the fiefs of the clergy, etc. Now, can we trust this author when he describes the powers of the king? M. Dodu has done so, although he admits that the chroniclers contradict d'Ibelin in other matters. A thirteenth century author, with a decided reason for prejudice, is an unsatisfactory authority for the twelfth century. Similarly, M. Dodu follows William of Tyre too implicitly for the events of the early years of the kingdom. The learned bishop is an excellent authority for the events of his own time, but should not be trusted for the previous decades, for which we have better contemporary sources.

Outside of his own subject M. Dodu is careless. References in some cases are multiplied with no reason and lay the author open to uncharitable criticism. Giesebrecht's "*Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*" ends in 1180,\* but is quoted on page 154 for the reign of Frederic II.

The introduction (pp. 1-72) is a summary of the sources for this work, with a select bibliography of secondary works. It is well done

\* This was written before the publication of the sixth volume.

and is the most useful bibliography of the subject available. The volume is adequately indexed and has an appendix containing genealogical tables for the different kings.

DANA C. MUNRO.

---

*A History of Slavery and Serfdom.* By JOHN KELLS INGRAM, LL. D. Pp. 285. Price, \$1.60. London: Adam and Charles Black; New York: Macmillan & Co., 1895.

The volume before us contains in an expanded form, Dr. Ingram's article on slavery in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Being written for the general reader, its aim is to present "such broad views and general ideas in relation to the history of slavery as ought to be a part of the mental furniture of all educated persons."

In the introductory chapter which is perhaps the best in the book, Dr. Ingram discusses slavery as a step in the development of civilization. As we examine the history of civilization we find that slavery marks a distinct advance on the condition preceding it. In the hunter period the savage kills his conquered enemy. In the pastoral state slavery is not found, but when an agricultural state is reached we again find this institution. Slavery had its "natural and appropriate place" in the military states of antiquity. As the existence of these states was necessary to human development, we must recognize the institution as a "necessary step in human progress." Slavery, says the author, discharged important offices in "the later social evolution—first, by enabling military action to prevail with a degree of intensity and continuity requisite for the system of incorporation by conquest which was its final destination; and secondly, by forcing the captives, who with their descendants came to form the majority of the population in the conquering community, to a life of industry, in spite of the antipathy to regular and sustained labor which is deeply rooted in human nature, especially in the earlier stages of the social movement when *insouciance* is so common a trait, and irresponsibility is hailed as a welcome relief. . . . Nowhere has productive industry developed itself in the form of voluntary effort."

The introduction is followed by chapters on slavery in ancient Greece and Rome and chapters dealing respectively with the transition to serfdom and its abolition. These four chapters are well written and bring together a great deal of information on slavery and serfdom. The main facts, however, as might perhaps be expected, are such as ought to be familiar to persons who are well read in history.

The next three chapters are devoted to the growth and decadence of negro slavery, which, says our author, was "politically, as well as morally a monstrous aberration and never produced anything but evil." What is said about the abolition of slavery in the United States cannot fail to be of interest to us as coming from a distinguished and unprejudiced foreigner. Of course the facts are so familiar as to need no rehearsal but some of his comments may be noticed. The author's view of the bearing of reconstruction on the question of slavery is expressed as follows: "The reconstruction was essential to secure the great objects in view; and even those who believe with the writer of these lines, that the Union in its present dimensions cannot long continue to exist, may rejoice at its full re-establishment, as having been necessary for the liberation and subsequent protection of the whole black population and the guidance of the South to a social system based on free labor." The position of the negroes of America is not finally determined, in Dr. Ingram's opinion. He refers to the well-known strained relations at present existing in our Southern States, and the only solution for the difficulties of our position seems to him to be the oft-advocated emigration of the colored population, which should not, however, be forced upon them. We are inclined to dispute this proposition as well as the one about the early dissolution of the Union, but space does not allow a discussion of these topics.

In the last chapter of the book the author discusses slavery in Russia and the Mohammedan East. The slavery which existed in Russia until quite recently, and which still exists in the Mohammedan countries is of a much milder type than the African slavery of America. It is in these countries slavery of the household not of the field. The slave is in a sense a member of the family, is affectionately treated and is not regarded as degraded. The fact that one has been a slave is no hindrance to his rising to the highest social position. Such slavery can be looked upon with a kind of toleration and with a confidence that with an advance in civilization it will pass away. Back of it, however, and supporting it is the slave trade, "with its systematic man-hunting, which . . . is still the curse of Africa." The present problem, then, before the leading nations of the world is the encouragement of the abolition of slavery in Eastern countries and the doing of all in their power to suppress the existing trade. Efforts have long been made in this direction and a naval blockade has been maintained on the east coast of Africa. This has been only partially successful. Dr. Ingram thinks that the slave trade is likely to continue until those parts of Africa most affected have been pierced by European railways and telegraph

lines. However, a resolute effort on the part of the Powers might hasten the extinction of this hateful traffic.

On the whole, Dr. Ingram's book is a very successful attempt to condense into one volume the leading facts about slavery. It stands alone in English literature and will be correspondingly useful to students of social phenomena. An excellent bibliography accompanies the work, but it is without an index, an omission which is a reproach alike to author and publisher.

JOHN HAYNES.

---

*The Origin and Development of the United States Senate.* By CLARA HANNAH KERR, Ph. D. Pp. 197. Ithaca, N. Y. Andrus & Church, 1895.

In this monograph, Dr. Kerr describes the development of the Senate from the time when a second house was proposed in the Convention of 1787, to the present day. She has given special attention to the way in which the Senate has exercised its constitutional powers and the manner in which it has deviated from the purpose of the framers of our Constitution. The work shows signs of careful study, and is a valuable addition to the constantly growing literature bearing upon our institutional history.

In dealing with the choice of senators, the question whether or not the governor of a State may "make appointments to fill vacancies caused by the expiration of terms of office" is briefly discussed and it is stated that "in 1879 and 1885, it was held that the governor had the right to make appointments in such cases." Whether the Senate voted on any case which would make a valid precedent is not stated, but the fact that a decision to the contrary has since been made by the Senate in the case of claimants for seats in the Fifty-third Congress would seem to throw doubt on the matter. The omission of any reference to these recent and important cases, which occupied much time and drew forth several able constitutional arguments, is a serious and surprising fault in the present monograph.

The author considers it an important departure from the original intention regarding the election of senators "that the question of the choice of a senator enters into the elections to the State legislature and that candidates are pledged in advance to vote for particular persons for senator," and says that the election in many cases is "practically direct." The statement that these elections are even in a limited number of cases "practically direct" cannot be accepted as accurate. The very fact that there is a growing demand that the election of senators be made direct by constitutional amendment

proves that they are not so under our present system. The fact is that the present method has the advantages neither of an indirect choice nor of a direct election and with its complicated machinery is an effective instrument in the hands of the professional politician.

The author gives nearly ten pages to the discussion of the ways in which debate is limited, and the proposals which have been made for more effective measures. As early as 1840, Clay proposed the introduction of the previous question to overcome the abuse which the minority had made of the unlimited privilege of debate. Since then the so-called courtesy of the Senate has been repeatedly and grossly abused, and as Dr. Kerr says "has raised in the minds of the people a very general contempt for the body." The only way in which the Senate can proceed to a vote on a question is by unanimous consent. Dr. Kerr quotes without comment the suggestion of Judge Cooley made during the pendency of the bill to repeal the Sherman Silver Act in 1893, that "members of the majority should make the proper motions looking to a definite and final action on the pending measure and the presiding officer should recognize them; since only in that way can the inalienable right of the Senate to express its will be exercised." These words of Judge Cooley cover the whole case and deserve the most emphatic endorsement. Our author thinks there is no probability of a change in the rules.

One of the strongest and most interesting portions of the monograph is that part of the chapter on the Senate as an executive body which treats of its relations to the appointments of the President. Dr. Kerr quotes from Hamilton his description of what all must agree is the only legitimate and constitutional exercise of the power of confirmation. "It will be the office of the President," said Hamilton, "to *nominate*, and with the advice and consent of the Senate to *appoint*. There will of course, be no exertion of *choice* on the part of the Senators. They may defeat one *choice* of the Executive and oblige him to make another, but they cannot themselves *choose*—they can only ratify or reject the choice of the President." Instead of this sound practice it has become "a fixed rule that a nomination would be rejected if the Senator of the state concerned declared it to be unfit and finally on the mere ground that the nomination was personally obnoxious to him." In this and other ways the freedom of nomination has passed from the President to the various Senators and members of Congress, and the Executive must now first obtain the approval of the Senators from the state in which the appointment is to be made. To such a pass have matters gone that one-third of the working time of Senators was said, by Garfield, to be occupied in the distribution of patronage.



THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SENATE. 143

This forces Senators to neglect their legislative duties and tempts them to make their support of an administration dependent upon getting appointments for their friends. This change is truly characterized by our author as a usurpation on the part of the Senate.

In addition to the topics we have mentioned the discussions of party caucuses, of secret sessions, of the treaty-making power and of impeachments contained in the monograph are worthy of particular attention.

JOHN HAYNES.

## NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

[This department of the ANNALS will endeavor to place before the members of the Academy matters of interest which serve to illustrate the municipal activity of the larger cities of Europe and America. Among the contributors are James W. Pryor, Esq., Secretary City Club, New York City; Sylvester Baxter, Esq., Boston *Herald*, Boston; Samuel B. Capen, Esq., President Municipal League, Boston; A. L. Crocker, Esq., President Board of Trade, Minneapolis; Victor Rosewater, Ph. D., Omaha *Bee*, Omaha; Professor John Henry Gray, Chairman Committee on Municipal Affairs, Civic Federation, Chicago; Jerome H. Raymond, Ph. D., University of Wisconsin; F. L. Siddons, Esq., Washington, D. C.; Donald B. MacLaurin, Esq., President Civic Federation, Detroit, Mich.; Professor A. C. Richardson, Buffalo, N. Y.; M. B. May, Esq., Cincinnati, Ohio; W. B. Spencer, Esq., New Orleans; William H. Parry, Esq., Comptroller City of Seattle, Wash.]

### AMERICAN CITIES.

#### *Street Railways in the United States.*

The 1895 edition of "American Street Railway Investments," contains much valuable information concerning the development of street railway systems during the year from May 1, 1894, to May 1, 1895.\* One very general fact which the history of the last year emphasizes is the process of street railway consolidation in all the larger cities of the United States. Owing to the fact that the electric motor system has been very generally introduced, the changes within the last year have not been of the importance of the two preceding years. In Boston, for instance, the last year shows but very little change, owing to the fact that in the central portions of the city, the narrowness of the streets and the congested condition of traffic will not permit of the extension of street railway lines. In Chicago, the present year stands in direct contrast with the remarkable prosperity of all street railway lines during the period of the World's Fair. In New York City, the surface roads have been encroaching very seriously upon the traffic of the elevated lines. The introduction of the improved cable system along the lines of the Sixth and Third Avenue Elevated has reduced the gross earnings of the Manhattan Elevated by nearly one million dollars. The surface lines of the same streets show a corresponding increase of earnings. The experience of New York City seems to prove that, unless some means of reaching elevated roads other than stair climbing, can be

\*"American Street Railway Investments," a supplement to the *Street Railway Journal*, Edw. E. Higgins, editor, Havemeyer Building, 26 Courtlandt street, New York City.

provided, the increased rapidity which new motive powers has made possible on surface lines, will permanently affect the position of the former.

**New York.**—The recent sale of a street railway franchise in New York City illustrates very well the operation of the new street railway law. This act, as passed in 1886, and amended 1891, provides for the sale at public auction of all street railway franchises and prescribes as a minimum return to the city, 3 per cent of the gross receipts during the first five years, and 5 per cent thereafter. In the sale of the right to operate a line thirteen and one-half miles in length in the suburban sections of the city, the Third Avenue and the Traction Companies were lively bidders for the franchise. The highest bidder was the Third Avenue Company, to which the franchise was awarded.

The terms agreed upon are as follows: In addition to the 3 per cent of the gross receipts during the first five years, and the 5 per cent thereafter, which the law prescribes as a minimum, the company agrees to pay 38½ per cent of its gross receipts into the city treasury. Also a bonus of \$250,000. In order to protect the city and to assure the payment of this large percentage, the Comptroller required the company to execute a bond for \$500,000 at the time of sale. These, however, are not the only conditions which have been attached to the granting of the franchise. The ordinances empowering the Comptroller to receive bids in accordance with the Act of 1891, contains the additional stipulations: First, that the fare over the entire line shall not exceed five cents and, in case branch roads are constructed, free transfers must be issued. Secondly, that no overhead trolley system shall be constructed south of 162d street; though north of that line, overhead trolleys are permitted for the period of ten years. Thirdly, the companies are required to keep the street between the tracks and two feet beyond the rail on each side, clean and free from dirt and snow. Fourthly, that they shall pave the streets between the rails and two feet on each side, to conform in all respects to the paving in other portions of the said streets. Fifth, the cars are to be properly and sufficiently heated during cold weather on pain of penalty of ten dollars per day for each car not so heated.

*The Recent Elections in New York City. \**

When the county convention of the Good Government Clubs met upon the twenty-eighth of August of this year, the leaders of the Committee of Seventy were not in the city, and no general movement

\* Communication of James W. Pryor, Esq.

for concerted action against Tammany Hall had been proposed. That convention adjourned, leaving in the hands of an executive committee the task of continuing preparations for the approaching campaign. After nearly a month of preparatory work, the committee called another convention. At this meeting, on the thirtieth of September, a majority of the committee presented a report recommending adjournment after appointing a committee to confer with all organizations opposed to Tammany Hall with a view to agreeing upon a ticket. The minority of the committee, however, presented a report advocating the nomination of a ticket without any attempt to confer with organizations known to be not entirely in harmony with the principles of the Good Government Clubs, and insisting that such conference could result only in a ticket designed in part, at least, to strengthen the political machines. The minority report prevailed; and the convention nominated candidates for eight of the ten places which were to be filled at the election. The following day Dr. Parkhurst sent a telegram to Mr. Charles Stewart Smith, chairman of the committee on political reform of the Chamber of Commerce, condemning the action of the Good Government Convention, and declaring that it was necessary for the Chamber of Commerce to take action. The Chamber of Commerce met on Thursday, the third of October; and out of this meeting grew the Committee of Fifty. This committee proceeded, through a sub-committee of five appointed by its executive committee, to undertake the task of bringing about a union against Tammany Hall. On Monday, the seventh of October, this committee of five had succeeded, through a series of conferences, in making up a ticket, which, with slight modifications, was nominated that evening by the adjourned conventions of the Republicans and the State Democracy. The convention of the Good Government Clubs met on the following day, and, after a long debate, decided not to support this fusion ticket but to keep its own ticket in the field. The campaign which followed cannot be detailed here. The division which thus took place in the ranks of the sincere friends of good city government is probably unprecedented in the history of municipal reform movements in this country. The Committee of Fifty, representing much of the intelligence and wealth of the community, contended that the one necessary thing was to defeat Tammany Hall, while the Good Government Clubs, as represented in the convention, held that a victory of Tammany through a sacrifice of the principles which the clubs had always declared to be essential would be a defeat rather than a victory. An address was issued by the Good Government Campaign Committee, on the thirteenth of October, in which the dangers of compromise with regular party organizations were

pointed out, especially with reference to division of offices. The Committee of Fifty also issued an address upon the nineteenth of October, in which the necessity of the union of all anti-Tammany forces, no matter what their party affiliations, was pointed out.

Upon the lines thus indicated, the argument between the friends of the respective tickets proceeded. The Good Government Committee pointed out that at two successive county conventions the Good Government Clubs had adopted platforms declaring that the clubs would support "for municipal and county offices only such candidates as represent our principles, and whose characters and careers inspire confidence in the sincerity of their professions;" and that it was, therefore, impossible to support a ticket which, like the fusion ticket, was in part made up for the purpose of strengthening the national parties in city politics, and of placing important patronage in the hands of politicians for political purposes. It is true that no concealment was made of the fact that the Republicans nominated the fusion candidate for County Clerk with the distinct understanding that he was to enjoy the considerable patronage of the office, and that the State Democracy representatives on the ticket were named by the machine of that organization. Four of the fusion candidates were also upon the Good Government ticket. The other candidates upon that ticket were undoubtedly superior to the corresponding candidates upon the fusion ticket. The Good Government ticket as a whole was generally admitted to be above criticism. Tammany elected its entire ticket by pluralities varying from 18,000 to 24,000. The Good Government ticket received but a small vote, although it is probable that the actual number was considerably greater than the one thousand six hundred returned. In the course of the campaign, some seven or eight of the twenty Good Government Clubs repudiated the action of the convention in nominating and in keeping the ticket in the field; and several of these clubs went so far as to endorse the fusion ticket.

The result of the election is not the "return of Tammany to power," fear of which was expressed before the fifth of November. The election gives to Tammany the offices of Register and County Clerk, both of which have been filled by Tammany men for a number of years, and eight judgeships, of which four are new and the remainder are now filled by Tammany men except so far as the Governor has appointed men to fill vacancies.

An interesting feature of the election was the new party-column blanket ballot, used this year for the first time. While the actual voting was greatly facilitated in comparison with the election of last year, when each voter was compelled to select from about twenty

official ballots, the objections made to the party-column ballot when it was under discussion proved serious in the actual process of election. The contention that the ballot would greatly discourage independent voting, and would tend in various ways to disfranchise the elector, was amply sustained by the result. In respect to the supreme court judgeships, about ten thousand ballots were declared defective in this city.

Mayor Strong has recently appointed a new board of Park Commissioners, in place of the commissioners who recently resigned, after serving a short time. The new appointments are excellent, and the board can be counted upon to serve the public faithfully and intelligently.

**Philadelphia.**—On Monday, November 11, 1895, the Senate Investigating Committee held its first session. This committee was appointed in pursuance of a resolution adopted by the State Senate to obtain such information as might be needful to the end that proper legislation "may be enacted to remedy and prevent such abuses as may be found to exist in the legislation and government of cities of the first class." Inasmuch as Philadelphia is the only city of the first class, the object of the resolution was directed toward the investigation of local affairs. At the outset, the effect of the resolution and the purpose of the committee were blocked by the refusal of the lower house to appropriate the funds necessary to carry on the investigation. In order to make the investigation possible, the Citizen's Municipal Association guaranteed to furnish the \$20,000 asked for. As a result, this association has been collecting evidence, and the attorneys for the committee are in fact the attorneys of the association. At the opening session, Mr. Freedley, of the counsel for the committee, stated that the field of inquiry would be divided into an investigation; first, as to municipal contracts; and, secondly, as to municipal wrongs. He laid particular stress upon the former, claiming that there was distinct evidence that municipal contracts were not enforced in the same spirit as the contracts of private associations.

The attention of the committee will for some time to come be directed to the making and enforcement of contracts relating to highways.

The recent experience of the city of Philadelphia with the street railway companies illustrates very clearly the general method of dealing with this service in the United States. The consolidation of the three great companies referred to in the November ANNALS, is now an accomplished fact. With the enormous capital at their disposal, together with the economy which unified management and



control must make possible, the opportunities for improved service as well as increased payments by the companies to the city, were such as they had never been before. At this point, however, the comparative helplessness of the city became apparent. In granting the franchises, no adequate right of regulation was reserved, and absolutely no mention of any future control over the rates of fare.

One of the first acts of the newly consolidated company was to abolish the transfer system, to fix single fares at five cents, and to issue exchange tickets for eight cents. The City Council sent a petition requesting the directors not to make this change, but this was disregarded. The increased rates will weigh most heavily upon the class least able to bear them. By far the largest majority of the laboring classes who, living in the extreme northern or southern sections of the city, are compelled to travel long distances, will find the increase of three cents per trip a considerable addition to their expense accounts. It has been calculated that the increase in the price of exchange tickets will, if the traffic continues as at present, increase the receipts of the company by nearly \$2,500,000, and that upon the income of those earning less than \$10 per week the increased rates will be equivalent to an income tax of about 3 6-10 per cent. It remains to be seen whether this addition of three cents will so influence the traffic as to compel the companies to return to the former condition. It is perfectly possible for the city, in the exercise of its police power, so to hamper the company as to make some concession on their part necessary. The indirect effect of arousing public opinion to the importance of the problem of public transportation may not be altogether fruitless.

This action of the companies has sufficiently aroused public sentiment to compel Councils to make an investigation as to the relation between the city and the companies. Whatever may be the practical result of this investigation, the fact that it will lead to a more definite recognition and formulation of the rights and powers of the city and the obligation of the companies, will represent a distinctive gain in local administrative relations. The investigation which has been placed in the hands of a sub-committee of the Law Committee of Councils, has submitted to the City Solicitor a series of questions which practically cover the field. They ask, first, for the conditions attached to the charters and ordinances under which the various companies operate. Second, the powers of the city of Philadelphia under the law, through police power and under the conditions attached to charters and ordinances as to hours of employment; frequency of service; regulation of fares; removal of poles

and wires; fenders, and protection of motormen from exposure. Third, the remedies of the city in the enforcement of conditions and the prevention of further infraction. Fourth, the proper remedy of the city for the removal of unused tracks. Fifth, the legal relations of consolidated and constituent companies of the city. The answer to these questions, coming from authoritative sources, will do much to prepare the way for a definite adjustment of the relation between our cities and street railway companies, when, as must necessarily be the case, they are passed upon by the courts.

The Director of Public Works has made an important statement with regard to the gas works of the city, the occasion of which was a proposition made by a private company to furnish gas in certain sections of the city for fuel purposes, at the rate of 70 cents per thousand cubic feet. The Director, in opposing this encroachment upon the domain of municipal activity, states that if Councils will provide the necessary money for the plant, the city will be able to furnish fuel gas at less than 70 cents and still make a profit. It is certain that if Councils adopts the policy of granting such rights to private companies, the problem of making the city gas works a profitable investment will become an increasingly difficult one. Inasmuch as the city will be able to offer the same, if not greater advantages than private companies, there seems to be no adequate reason for thus weakening the position of the city's works.

The ninth annual report of the Citizen's Municipal Association of Philadelphia, shows the possibilities of public benefits which associations such as this are in a position to confer upon the community. During the year, April 1894-95, the Association has been active in its endeavor to maintain a strict supervision of municipal contracts and in maintaining a watchful supervision over the granting of municipal franchises. In three different cases it has been the means of forcing upon public attention abuses which might otherwise have escaped notice. The first was in the case of the Queen Lane reservoir, which was shown to be defective in construction and unfit for the purposes for which it was intended. In the second, the Association was the means of forcing upon the attention of Councils the circumstances under which valuable franchises had been granted, and finally, when the State Senate investigation into municipal conditions of Philadelphia was in danger of falling to the ground for lack of funds, the Association came forward with a guarantee of \$20,000, for the purposes of the committee.

**Brooklyn.**—The rapidity with which the work of consolidating companies enjoying municipal franchises is proceeding, is shown by the recent union of the Brooklyn gas companies. The new

company has been organized with a capital of \$30,000,000. Fortunately for the city sufficient power is given to the public authorities to take advantage of the increased facilities which this consolidation makes possible. Under an act passed in 1895,\* municipal authorities are authorized to contract for the lighting of streets for a period not exceeding fifteen years; such contract to be made at public sale, and to provide for progressive reduction in price. The interesting principle contained in the act, is, that in such contracts for public lighting, there shall be a provision that "during the term therein specified, the corporation party thereto, may and shall supply gas to the inhabitants of such city at prices lower than those now or then charged therein by such corporation party thereto, and progressively lower for each year of such term." In the awarding of contracts, the schedule of rates for private consumption is to be taken into account in determining the relative merits of different offers.

**San Francisco.**†—There seems to be a general demand for a new charter. Up to the present time the city has not been able to avail itself fully of the new constitutional provisions adopted in 1880, which gave to the city the power to frame its own charter. As originally framed, the constitutional provision gave to all cities with a population exceeding 100,000 the power to call a local constitutional convention, to consist of fifteen freeholders, whose duty "it shall be, within ninety days after such election, to prepare and propose a charter for such city," and "within not less than thirty days after its publication, such charter shall be submitted to the qualified electors of such city, at a general or special election." If adopted by a majority of the qualified electors, it is then submitted to the State Legislature for approval or rejection. When approved by a majority of the members of each House, it becomes the charter of the city.

Subsequent amendments to the State Constitution have extended this privilege to cities with a population of over 3500. In 1880, 1883 and 1887, San Francisco made an attempt to avail itself of the provisions, but in each case, the charter as drafted was rejected by the people. As a result, the condition of the city's government, at the present time, is anything but satisfactory. The constitution forbids special city legislation, but the division of the cities into classes makes it possible to pass what, in its effect, is special legislation as regards San Francisco. The question of the extent of the power of the Legislature introduces an element of uncertainty into the situation, which is extremely harmful. City officials must keep a sharp lookout on the doings of the Legislature at Sacramento and

\* Known as the Wray Act. Chapter 390. Laws of New York, 1895.

† Based on the communication of I. T. Milliken, Esq.

when legislation affecting San Francisco is enacted, doubt as to the constitutionality of the measures very often exists. For instance, at the last session an act was passed regulating primary elections, and providing for a board of election commissioners for the city and county of San Francisco. The decision of the Supreme Court is being awaited to decide as to its constitutionality. Another question, which has introduced an element of uncertainty into the administration of the city, has been as to the exact relations existing between the city and county of San Francisco, which were made co-terminous by the Consolidation Act of 1856. Recently the Board of Supervisors levied a tax for city and county purposes. One item of considerable importance was for a new city hall. The Mayor attempted to veto the levy, but in view of the uncertainty of his powers, the question will have to be passed upon by the Supreme Court. San Francisco thus offers an excellent illustration of the administrative chaos to which constant legislative interference must necessarily lead.

**Cincinnati\***—Cincinnati will begin the new year with an increase of population and territory. In 1893 the Legislature passed an act allowing the people of Cincinnati and contiguous municipal corporations to vote on the question of annexation, and in 1894 the electors by an overwhelming majority decided to annex to the city the municipalities of Avondale, Clifton, Riverside, Linwood and Westwood. The report of the Annexation Commissioners which has been approved by the Court of Common Pleas shows that the assessment of the city will be increased by some ten million dollars and a population of over sixteen thousand added to the city.

This annexation will necessitate the formation of new wards and will add many new members to the Board of Legislature (City Council), and the Board of Education. As these suburbs were the home mainly of merchants and families of comfortable incomes, a very desirable addition has been made to the citizen body which it is hoped will show its effect in the personnel of the governing authorities.

The annexation of the five largest contiguous corporations of Hamilton County, suggests the advisability of making the city co-extensive with the county, and in all probability some legislation to that end will be attempted by the new Legislature which convenes in January, 1896.

The Cincinnati Municipal Civil Service Reform Association, which was reorganized last year, is taking active measures to secure

\*Communication of M. B. May, Esq.

favorable legislation for the reform of the local civil service. At a recent meeting of the Executive Committee, a sub-committee was appointed to act with similar committees in Cleveland and other large cities with the view to drafting suitable bills to be presented to the next Legislature.

**New Orleans.\***—The campaign for municipal reform in New Orleans was fairly begun this month by the organization of the "Citizens' League." This movement is an outgrowth of the agitation that has been carried on during the past two years by the Ballot Reform League, which has taken the active lead in the reformation of the defective election and registration laws now on the statute books. In view of the fact that our State and municipal elections take place at the same time, and the fact that the city "*ring*" has shown a complete disregard of every interest of the city, it was deemed expedient to merge the issue of honest elections and suffrage laws with that of good city government. The result of this amalgamation has been beneficial to both causes, so that it is now confidently believed that the ring will be overthrown at the approaching election in April.

The "Citizens' League" is organized on strictly non-partisan lines, and is pledged to the reformation of election and registration laws; an absolutely clean municipal ticket; the enactment of a new city charter, embracing as a prominent feature, civil service reform in all departments; and the revision of the criminal procedure of our courts with a view to the speedy and impartial trial of criminals. The belief of the organizers of the League is that if any permanent reform is to be secured, it must be based on the enactment of laws that will secure to each citizen the opportunity to record his preference in elections with the assurance that it will receive due effect. It is the common experience of all, that under present conditions it is impossible to prevail upon many citizens of the so-called "better element" to actively participate in political affairs. Appreciating the importance of the present opportunity, the League will endeavor to effect at one time the most essential reforms in the organization and administration of the municipal affairs of this city. The many abuses to be corrected will give it ample work during the time intervening before the election in April, and the industry and patriotism of its members will be taxed to the utmost in completing the work of organization and in preparing for the vast work on hand.

Thus far the results have been most encouraging. It was found

\*Communication of Walker B. Spencer, Esq.

easy to enlist the most influential citizens, and many who were never known to engage actively in political affairs have taken posts requiring untiring exertions.

In order to better carry out its schemes of reform, the League has established commissions, composed of the most eminent men in the city, to whom have been referred the preparation of the legislation necessary to the above mentioned reforms. In the meantime the main body itself will devote its energies to the conduct of the campaign proper.

At present almost a majority of its City Council is under indictment for bribery, and it is momentarily expected that the present grand jury will find true bills against quite a number in addition. The indictment of these men, however, has never suggested to the Mayor the propriety of suspending them from office, as he has a right to do. The only commendable feature about the councilmanic corruption is that it is so open and flagrant that conviction is sure, once a trial is had; but the interminable delays and technical obstacles that our criminal procedure enables them to interpose has thus far saved most of them from the penitentiary. Unfortunately we cannot even boast that the stern hand of the law is felt only in the Council Chamber. The Mayor was tried by the courts for malfeasance in office, and many were of the opinion that he should have been removed, except, unfortunately, the three judges who sat in the case. He was so elated over his "vindication" that he has asked Councils to appropriate \$5000 to pay his counsel, which was promptly complied with. In view of the fact that two of the three judges owed their positions directly to him, the public at large does not view this vindication in the same light. These indictments have led to further revelations. A prominent banker and financier, the purchaser of a most valuable street railway franchise embracing some fifty miles of street railways, was indicted for perjury in connection with his testimony before the grand jury in relation to that transaction. His high standing and his vehement protestations of innocence induced many to believe he had been greatly wronged. He demanded a speedy trial, and was accommodated, and to his great surprise as promptly convicted. Soon after the community was startled by his confession of guilt, and the implication of another prominent man of affairs, who had been the successful purchaser of the lighting, drainage and garbage franchises.

**Washington\***—The present form of government of the District of Columbia is just about twenty-one years old, and in framing it, so

\*Communication of F. L. Siddons, Esq.



it is claimed, the attempt was made to establish its true or constitutional relations to the national government. Perhaps it will not be amiss to outline in a very brief way the salient features of the District government.

To begin with, it is absolutely non-representative, its 300,000 inhabitants, more or less, having no voice or part in its administration. Congress is its legislature and a board of three Commissioners, appointed or designated by the President, constitutes the local executive authority. Its judges are appointed by the President, and their tenure is for life. The majority has been appointed from without the District and learn our law in the process of expounding it.

The national government contributes 50 per cent of the total cost of running the local government, and the remaining 50 per cent is raised by taxing the people and property of the District. And here we reach the first municipal reproach and the most important one.

Our system of taxation, if it can be so dignified, is antiquated in the extreme and possesses all those vices that make a system unjust and oppressive. Real estate, meaning land only; improvements, meaning buildings of all kinds on land, and personal property are the supposed subjects of taxation. Licenses to carry on various occupations are another source of revenue.

Let us take the first mentioned subject of taxation—real estate. From the very foundation of Washington as the seat of the Federal Government, speculation in real estate has been its bane. Visitors to the District as they gaze at the noble pile composing the Capitol often wonder why it faces east when so small and comparatively unimportant a part of the District lies in that direction, and when the view is so much finer both of the city and surrounding country in the opposite direction. Speculation in real estate during the early days of the city's life, did it. The Capitol was built facing the east because it was believed and intended that the city would grow in that direction, but the land speculator was at work and holding the land lying east of the Capitol at outrageously high prices, the legitimate investor was driven west of the building for his home site. In this instance the speculators deservedly suffered but they found a foothold here, and here they have remained ever since.

Land held for speculative purposes is assessed at a fraction of its real value and this is true also relatively speaking of the more valuable business and residential properties. The land on which the small home stands is assessed generally at very near its true value, and thus it is that the home-owner pays the bulk of the tax on land,

while acres of desirable home sites are held out of use by those who do not bear their just share of taxation, and who quietly wait until the community shall increase there. And so with improvements. Large office buildings and business houses of all kinds with unusual income producing powers are assessed at from 35 to 55 per cent of their value, while humble homes everywhere are assessed at from 65 per cent to beyond their real value.

The personal property tax is worse than a failure. After repeated attempts to assess and collect it fairly without the slightest success, it has now become practically a dead letter, and its repeal is yearly recommended by the assessor and District Commissioners. A considerable revenue is collected from liquor licenses and licenses on a number of small occupations, which as to the latter, at least, in simple justice should not be imposed.

Like the real estate speculator, the corporations of the District escape with little taxation. The great street railway companies that have secured the most valuable franchises without compensation to the District, are but slightly taxed, and the lighting monopolies are likewise favored. Indeed it would be difficult to find a city in the country where corporate aggression is held less in check than at the national capital.

As was said before the system of taxation prevailing in the District is the first and most serious municipal reproach, but no effort is being made to remove it, and none is likely to be while the powers that now control District legislation remain in the ascendancy. And this they are likely to do so long as the people of Washington are denied the means of making known their grievances and themselves correcting them by the ordinary means that in enlightened political communities are at the disposal of the inhabitants.

**Omaha\***—The late local campaign in the city of Omaha was fought out on the lines of reform, and resulted in the defeat of the reform element. Strengthened by the decision in the Police Commission case previously described, and in complete possession of the machinery of the municipality, and the Republican party, the A. P. A. faction nominated a ticket composed largely of members of the combine in control of the city government. Three Councilmen were nominated for promotion to other offices, the City Clerk was renominated, the deputy of the Comptroller, to whose neglect of duty the late \$30,000 treasury defalcation is in part ascribed, was nominated for the Comptrollership, while the president of the new Police Commission headed the ticket as the candidate for Mayor.

\* Communication of Victor Rosewater, Ph. D., Omaha.

Opposed to this A. P. A. Republican aggregation was the ticket nominated by the Citizens' Reform League, and endorsed by the Democrats and in part by the Populists. The reform Council and School Board tickets were composed entirely of representative business and professional men, and the reform campaign was conducted on a platform of retrenchment and economy. For three or four city offices there were third candidates in the field, but they played no important part in the result.

The campaign was short and sharp. The machine appeared to be too strongly entrenched, and the outcome was the election of the entire A. P. A. city ticket with the exception of two candidates for the city Council. The newly elected officers assume their duties January first, when they will be confronted with a financial problem that will tax their abilities to the utmost.

---

#### FOREIGN CITIES.

**London.**—The County Council has again taken up the question of the relation of the metropolis to the city of London, and more especially the Livery Companies. These companies, as was pointed out in speaking of the Royal Commission Report are the legal successors to the mediæval guilds. They have, however, entirely lost their significance as trade organizations and represent nothing more than social and benevolent associations which have inherited important property rights formerly belonging to the city's guilds. The County Council wishes if possible to restrain the companies from alienating their property and to ensure the dedication of this property to objects of public utility. The Royal Commission which inquired into this subject made recommendations of the same character, but Parliament has not as yet acted thereon. As the annual income of these companies exceeds three and one-half million dollars, the possibility of public improvements through the use of this sum is considerable.

**Berlin.**—The development of municipal savings banks within the last few years has acquired an importance which gives to them very respectable standing as compared with other public and private banking institutions. The German cities have taken hold of this question with an energy and vigor characteristic of other departments of the administration. The annual report of the Berlin Savings Bank for the fiscal year 1894-95, gives some extremely interesting facts showing the progress of this institution. On the thirty-first of March, 1895, the total deposits amounted to \$40,000,000 representing an increase of nearly \$3,000,000 over the preceding year.

This increase was due not so much to the larger average deposits, but rather to an increase in the number of depositors. The report shows that while in 1894 there were 484,363, in 1895 the number had increased to 509,732. The number of payments during the year reached 526,292. Of these 178,960 were from 25 cents to \$5, and 162,212 from \$5 to \$15. The total cash capital of the bank is at present somewhat over \$44,000,000; the annual net profits about \$275,000 (1,112,306 marks). There has been considerable difference of opinion as to whether the institution should so increase the rate of interest as to divide the profits among depositors. At present the surplus is devoted to works of public utility. The city authorities have done everything to facilitate and encourage the increase in the number of depositors. At present there are seventy-six receiving offices in different portions of the city.

**Vienna.**—The position of the capital cities in the general political system has been one of the most difficult administrative problems with which European States have had to deal. England, France, Germany, and Austria have made the attempt to reconcile the principle of local self-government with the supervision which the state must necessarily exercise when questions of national concern are at stake. With the extension of the suffrage, this problem has been becoming increasingly important and complicated. In direct contrast with our American States, we find that in Europe, the great centres of population have been selected as the seat of the central government. In some cases, it is true, selection as the capital city has been the primary cause of rapid growth. In Italy, for instance, the change from Florence to Rome marks the commercial decline of the former and the rapid development of the latter. Within recent years we find a marked tendency toward decentralization, resulting in greater local independence for the capital cities. In the Austrian system, however, this tendency seems to be less marked than in England and Germany.

Recent events in the municipal history of Vienna illustrate the position which the capital cities of Europe occupy in the general political system and at the same time offer some interesting facts as to the development of political and social life in that city. It may be well to give first; the circumstances which led to the peculiar form of government under which Vienna is at present being administered. For some time past the Anti-Semitic party has been gaining strength in municipal elections. As to the cause of this movement, some difference of opinion exists. It is undoubtedly a fact that the Liberal party, which had for some time past been in the ascendancy, especially in the Municipal Council, had dissatisfied the

electoral body by its lack of positive policy in social legislation. This feeling was further strengthened by the fact that in national politics this party had adopted an attitude of conciliation and compromise toward the non-German population of the Empire. One of the fundamental principles of the Anti-Semitic party in both Germany and Austria has been the preservation of what they have termed the distinctively German institutions and national sentiment. In this they have been largely supported by the Conservatives, particularly by the extreme right wing of that party. These facts tended undoubtedly to favor the growth of the more radical elements. As regards the local conditions in Vienna, however, there are certain fundamental economic facts which will tend to explain the surprising growth of the Anti-Semites. From a commercial point of view, the city has never recovered from the disastrous panic of 1873. During the last ten years the struggle for existence among the artisan classes, which is so largely represented in the Viennese population, has been becoming more and more keen. Those industries which lend themselves more particularly to production on a small scale, have formed one of the most important factors in the industrial development of the city. The production of fancy goods of various kinds, toys, leather goods, fans, etc., occupied large classes of the population. Within recent years industry on a large scale has seriously endangered the economic position of these classes. In addition the extraordinary industrial progress of Germany has reduced the importance of Vienna as a great commercial centre. As a result, we find the spirit of discontent rapidly gaining ground, and obtaining expression in an adherence to the party which offers a definite and positive social program, advocates legislation tending to improve the condition of the artisan class, and singling out the Jews as a commercially successful class, makes the attack upon them the centre of political agitation. The leaders in this movement have time and again asserted that it is an economic and not a religious crusade that they are conducting.

Under the circumstances, it is natural that this party, like the Social Democracy in Germany, should have been able to group about itself the discontented element of the population. At the recent municipal elections, held early in November, the Anti-Semitic party was returned to the Municipal Council with ninety-two out of a total of one hundred and thirty-eight members. This large majority seems all the more remarkable when we stop to consider that universal suffrage is not a part of the Austrian system. The electors are divided into three classes: First, those paying a municipal tax of at least 200 florins; secondly, those paying between 30 and 200

florins; and thirdly, all others, that is, those paying more than five and less than thirty florins, together with those of the professional classes who do not come within the other class groups. The age requirement is twenty-five years. Under this system, over 70 per cent of the adult males are excluded from the franchise. In a total population of nearly one and one-half millions, there are but 60,000 electors. Each class elects one-third of the members of the Council. Of the total electors about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent constitute the first class; 24 per cent the second;  $68\frac{1}{2}$  per cent the third class. Under such circumstances, it would seem that the wealth of the community held the balance of power. Sufficient influence, however, seems to have been brought to bear upon the second and third classes and a certain percentage of the first class, to return the Anti-Semites with a two-thirds majority. Under the form of government, the Municipal Council elects the Mayor, whose election, however, is subject to the confirmation of the Emperor. Soon after the first meeting of the new Council, Dr. Lueger, the leader of the Anti-Semitic party, who is also the leader of the national organization, was elected Mayor by a large majority. The consent of the Emperor was withheld and, at a new election, to which the Council proceeded, their former choice was re-affirmed. The municipal code applicable to Vienna\* gives the central government power to dissolve the Council and to carry on the government of the city by means of a State Commission. The government immediately made use of this right, dissolved the Council and has placed a Government Commissioner, with fifteen assistants, at the head of the administration of the city. It is important to note the fact that, the supervision over the cities of the Austrian Empire is generally purely administrative. In cases of this kind, however, a legislative element also enters, so there is a combination of administrative and legislative control. The dissolution of the Council and the institution of the Imperial Commission constitute ministerial acts for which the ministers of the crown are responsible to the Imperial Diet. The action of the ministry in this case has been sustained by that body.

In the course of a few weeks the electors of the city will be given another opportunity to elect a Municipal Council, but it is also tolerably certain that the central government will not recede from its position in refusing its assent to the election of a representative of the Anti-Semitic party to the position of Mayor.

As to the question of justification for this extreme form of govern-

\* The Municipal Code, § 46, provides that in case the government finds it necessary to dissolve the Municipal Council, a new election shall be provided for within four weeks.



mental interference in local affairs, it must be remembered that in these capital cities far more than merely local interests are concerned. Even as regards interests which, in provincial cities are of purely local importance, such as, for instance, street making, lighting, and the like, the state, owing to the fact that central political authorities are often dependent upon the efficiency of such local service for the proper discharge of their functions, has a distinct interest in the character of municipal services. This necessity of central control becomes all the stronger when we consider functions of more general concern, such as police, and all legislation for the public safety. It is necessary that the central government should at all times be able to assure itself of freedom from interference due to local disturbances. Another fact, which it is important to note in this connection is that, owing to the concentration of the national political life in these cities and the great influence which they exercise on the political opinions of the nation, it becomes a matter of national importance that the municipal administration should not become a machine for purely political purposes. It is impossible to separate local from national politics in the political life of these centres. When, therefore, the local legislature has become of a character to endanger the public interests of the state, there seems to be every reason for an assertion of central authority. In Paris, where the Municipal Council is apt to take a *doctrinaire* and extremely radical view of local affairs and is often tempted to use its powers for purposes of agitation on national subjects, the state has reserved to itself the power of strict control over the execution of the decisions of the Council. It is, of course, an open question whether this assertion of central authority, such as in Vienna at the present time, can give anything more than temporary relief. If the state refuses to allow the municipality to settle these issues in its own way, it must be prepared to undertake the permanent administration of its capital city.

The experience of American cities has been limited to the assertion of legislative authority in questions of administration. Fortunately, the division of political parties in the United States is along lines which do not, as a rule, call for extraordinary measures, no matter which of the parties happens to be in control. From the point of view of a satisfactory division of powers between state and municipality, the outcome of the struggle in Vienna offers questions of more than local interest.

## SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

[The editor of this department is glad to receive notes on all topics of interest to sociologists and persons working along sociological lines in the broadest acceptance of the term. It is not the purpose of these columns to define the boundaries of sociology, but rather to group in one place for the convenience of members of the Academy available bits of information on the subject that would otherwise be scattered throughout various departments of the ANNALS. The usefulness of this department will naturally depend largely on the measure of co-operation accorded the editor by other members of the Academy.]

Among those who have already indicated their interest and willingness to contribute are such well-known workers along sociological lines as Professor F. H. Giddings (Columbia College), Professor W. F. Willcox (Cornell University), Dr. John Graham Brooks (Cambridge, Mass.), Dr. E. R. Gould (Chicago University), Mr. John Koren (Boston), Hon. Carroll D. Wright (Washington, D. C.), Professor E. Cheysson (Paris), Mr. Robert D. McGonnigle (Pittsburg, Pa.), President John H. Finley (Knox College), Professor D. R. Dewey (Boston), Rev. Dr. L. T. Chamberlain (New York), Dr. Wm. H. Tolman (New York), Dr. D. I. Green (Hartford), Mr. Robert Donald (London), Prof. Giuseppe Flamingo (Rome), Dr. Georg Simmel (Berlin), Professor Dr. Georg v. Mayr (Strassburg), Miss Emily Green Balch (Jamaica Plains, Mass.), Miss M. E. Richmond (Baltimore, Md.), and others.

**Labor Question.**—“*Company Stores*” in the *Pennsylvania Mining Districts*. Great reforms are usually the result of peculiar and unexpected combinations of forces. Years of agitation to secure better sanitary conditions, good light and ventilation in the machine workshops of this country and of England, accomplished little, compared with the almost instantaneous change that took place through the introduction of the electric traveling trains. The moment that this became a necessity in the workshop, great changes in the construction of buildings was at once imperative and, with these changes, instigated by the employers’ interests, came the very improvements in the way of large and spacious workrooms, filled with adequate light and good air that the previous labor reform agitation had failed to secure. A somewhat similar result of no mean significance has just materialized in the mining districts of Western Pennsylvania and bids fair to extend throughout the country and afford some solution of the vexed and much-debated question of the miners’ difficulties in connection with company stores. These stores are known in the miners’ dialect as “pluck-me” stores, and in the Pittsburgh district, and doubtless elsewhere, they have been the instruments through which grievous wrongs were inflicted on coal miners. The system is doubtless familiar to most students of the labor question. It has worked to the injury of the coal miners in three distinct ways. In the first place, it has limited the output of the individual miners and thus diminished

their earnings. In order that every possible dollar of earnings shown on the pay-roll may go through the store, it was necessary to limit the earnings of each miner to that amount which his needs required him to draw from the store for the necessities of life. Otherwise, when pay day came, there would be a cash balance due him and a consequent loss of profit on a corresponding amount of store goods. The limitation of earnings was easily accomplished by introducing three miners, where there was full work for two, or two miners, where there was full work for only one. Supposing that a miner could dig three tons of coal a day, at seventy cents a ton, his daily wages would be \$2.10. The "pluck-me" system would at once crowd the mine, so that the miner could get wagons for only one and a half tons per day, thus causing the reduction in his wages of at least a dollar as compared with the results of full work. In the second place, this system having unfairly reduced the miners' output, further wrongs him by bringing about a reduction in the rate per ton for mining. The mines of the district having a capacity for producing more coal than the market will take, found it necessary, on account of fierce competition between the coal operators, to underbid each other to an extent that many of them filled their orders at cost and sometimes, even below cost, looking to their "pluck-me" stores for the chance to make a profit of at least ten cents per ton. If all the mines had been operated in connection with the "pluck-me" system, this state of affairs might have gone on until competition reduced the profits in the stores to *nil*, or, at least, have caused so great a measure of wrong to the miners, that they would have openly resisted further aggressions on the part of the stores. Indeed, it is remarkable that the miners patiently endured the store grievances and bore the burden of the competition in the open market as long as they did. The remedy came, however, from an unexpected source. Those operators who did not have a store system were first forced to the wall and their profit taken away while their competitors were able to hold out longer because of their stores. Those operators, therefore, without stores at once espoused the cause of the miners and declared war on the store system.

The third grievance of the miner is the very familiar one that, in addition to reducing his output and the price per ton for mining, it then unfairly taxes his scanty earnings by forcing him to pay extortionate prices for the goods that he consumes.

At the Convention of Western Pennsylvania Railroad Miners, held in Pittsburgh, May 29, 1889, resolutions condemning the store system, were adopted, but no effectual results were accomplished until the

General Convention of Miners and Operators, held in Pittsburgh, October 12, 1895, when through the assistance and indeed on the initiative of certain of the operators, a definite agreement was made whereby a differential of five cents per ton in the cost of digging coal was granted to those operators who will abolish stores and pay cash. This is the most practical step that has ever been taken by miners of the Pittsburgh coal district and it is likely to have abiding results. Henceforth operators with stores are required to pay sixty-nine cents a ton for mining, while those without stores are asked to pay but sixty-four cents per ton. This arrangement goes into effect January 1, 1896. The new arrangement leads to the correction of other evils to which the miners have in the past been subject. For example, a mine working in this region, which has no limit of weight on wagons, or which has no check-weighman, or which uses screens not uniform in size with the screens of the district, or which pays in anything but cash, pays twenty cents per ton more for mining than the mines at which there is no limit as to weight of wagons, or whose screens are uniform, and which allow check-weighmen on the tippie and pays earnings in cash.

Mr. William P. De Armit, the President of the New York and Cleveland Gas Coal Company of Pittsburgh, himself a coal operator, has been largely influential in bringing about these reforms which have been of benefit to both employer and employed. For at least eleven years he has been calling attention to these evils and urging action looking to their remedy, on both operators and miners. His little pamphlet, entitled, "The 'Pluck-me' Store," embodies an address which he delivered at the Convention of Miners in May, 1889, and was printed in the various languages used by the miners of Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois and at least 170,000 copies were distributed in this region and doubtless contributed largely to the present outlook for the satisfactory settlement of the controversy of long standing. The abolishment of the evils referred to will constitute a greater gain to the miners than anything which has been obtained by them or for them, through their organizations, within the past twenty-five years and it is rather curious that this result has been due to an entirely unexpected combination of business forces and that it should have come largely through the persistent agitation of the coal operator, rather than through the miners' organizations or their leaders.

**Theory of Social Forces.**—Those readers of the ANNALS who have followed the interesting controversy between Professor Simon N. Patten and Professor Franklin H. Giddings, which was published in these pages about a year ago as a result of the appearance in print

of Patten's "Failure of Biologic Sociology,"\* and Giddings' "Theory of Sociology"† will be glad to know that Professor Patten has put his views in more systematic shape in the monograph which is sent as a supplement to this number of the *ANNALS*. Here Professor Patten develops much more fully and clearly some of the more suggestive points touched upon in the former discussion, all of which should be re-read in the present connection. Professor Giddings' forthcoming volume on the "Principles of Sociology" is announced for publication on January 15. It contains in the parts bearing on this discussion a much fuller statement of his position.

It will be found that Professor Patten approaches the problem of social evolution from a fresh and original point of view. Heretofore it has been customary for those who study social problems from the biologic side to take for granted the general truth and sufficiency of the theory of evolution, without seeking to inquire just how and why the evolutionary process assumed has taken place. Dr. Patten lays great stress on the influence that the social environment has had in determining the direction of such evolution. As he well says: "The problem of evolution may be studied either through the examination of developed organisms, or through an examination of those elements in the environment that have given the direction to the evolution. The former study is inductive and historical; the latter is deductive and its conclusions are in the form of causal laws."

Briefly outlined, Dr. Patten's social theories rest upon the assumption that the progressive development of organic life on this planet, has been in its later phases the result of the development of a more and more refined mental organism, the parts of which have been in turn the "requisites for survival," as the organism adapted itself to increasingly complex environments.

The monograph is divided into four parts, which treat respectively of, "The Influence of the Environment," "Race Psychology," "Knowledge and Belief," and "A Social Commonwealth." It is to the latter section perhaps that the readers' attention will be chiefly drawn. In his discussion of a social commonwealth, Dr. Patten makes many original and suggestive observations concerning the part which race ideals and beliefs may play in social progress. "The social commonwealth is a picture of a society developing under "normal," conditions; a picture not in harmony with society as we know it, because real society has, in Dr. Patten's opinion, been

\* *ANNALS*, Vol. iv, p. 919, May, 1894, also issued as Publication No. 121.

† Supplement to *ANNALS*, Vol. v, July, 1894.

forced out of the channel of "normal" development on account of the lack of correspondence between the social forces and social environment.

Incidental to the discussion of the social commonwealth, Dr. Patten suggests a basis for a progressive theory of morals and religion which will recommend itself to the wide circle of readers interested in the religious discussions of the day. Still more significant is his discussion of the æsthetic feelings as social forces. They have not been regarded heretofore in any such striking way by the social philosopher, but in his chapters on "City Life" and the part that a healthy development of æsthetic feelings might play in socialization of various kinds, where the gratification or satisfaction of these feelings can be had only through group action, there are many suggestions to the social reformer which are capable of wide application in general public education.

**Negro Problem.**—Mr. Booker T. Washington, of the Tuskegee (Ala.) Normal and Industrial Institute, has made himself one of the leading authorities in the United States on the question of negro education. Clark Howell, the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, in writing to the editor of the *New York World* spoke of Mr. Washington's address at the opening of the Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition as one of the most notable speeches ever delivered to a Southern audience. He goes on to say, "it was an epoch-making talk and marks distinctively the turning point in the progress of the negro race, and its effect in bringing about a perfect understanding between the whites and blacks of the South, will be immediate. The address was a revelation. It was the first time that a negro orator had appeared on a similar occasion before a Southern audience." The chief characteristics of Mr. Washington's remarks were a full recognition of that economic conflict and the relative economic strength of the antagonistic elements in this race problem, that is at the basis of the whole controversy. With admirable clearness he succeeded in bringing some pertinent facts respecting the negro out of the halo of pure sentiment, and in making them contribute to a most satisfactory theory regarding the negro's further progress, which must find acceptance at the hands of the black man as well as of the white man. Perhaps, however, the most striking fact brought out in this connection was that the brightest outlook for the negro, provided he attains to some measure of industrial efficiency, is in the Southern States. Notwithstanding our boasted sentiments respecting him in the North and the plentiful supply of contempt which we often shower on his so-called oppressors in the South, the white people of the South stand to-day



more ready to give him the chance to show any merit that he may possess along the lines of business and industry, than do we of the North. They are more accustomed to him as a factor in their lives and are less afraid of coming into personal contact with him, which fact hampers him quite considerably in his industrial development in the North. The spirit of Mr. Washington's entire address may be inferred from the following paragraph:

"The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extreme folly and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us, must be the result of severe and constant struggle, rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world, is long in any degree ostracised. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercises of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory, just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera house."\*

The school at Tuskegee has just completed its fourteenth year of work. It stands for all that was good in the ideas developed by General Armstrong at Hampton Institute; indeed, both it and its principal are worthy representatives of the beneficent influence of the mother institution. Over 800 boys and girls, representing seventeen States and one Territory, were in attendance during the past year. The average age for pupils was eighteen and a half years and none found admittance under fourteen years. Sixty-six instructors, all of them of the colored race, are employed in the teaching force. In addition to the ordinary subjects of elementary education, instruction is given in twenty-two industries and every opportunity is afforded for the student to apply his political knowledge on the place, and gain the practical experience that will fit him for industrial life.

The buildings have been largely constructed by the labor of the students and the whole property of the school is now valued at over \$215,000. It stands as one of the greatest boons to the unfortunate black man of the Great Black Belt of the South and is in every way making its life felt, not only on the students who come within its walls, but on the community in which it is located.

**Charities.**—*Conventions of State and Public Officers.* It is an indication of the spread of the principles of the newer charity, which

\*Copies of Mr. Washington's address, which is not long, may be had in pamphlet form, by application, enclosing stamps, to him at Tuskegee, Ala.

has become much more educational in its character than the older methods—which were altogether too much restricted to mere almsgiving—that now in almost all our States, we have organizations under one name or another, of the leading public officers who have to do with the administration of public institutions and public finances. Most of these associations hold annual conventions within their respective State borders. On these occasions, the majority of the County Commissioners, Overseers of the Poor, or other similar officers under other names, meet together to discuss problems of management administration, and to view from a general standpoint some of the economic and social questions in connection with the dependent classes.

The Association of the Directors of the Poor and Charities of Pennsylvania held its Twenty-first Annual Session in Philadelphia, October 15 to 17, inclusive. Very interesting reports upon almshouses, institutions, etc., were presented. Preventive work was given a very prominent place in many of the discussions. Papers on preventive work of the future, as it relates to the children of the poor; on the cases of prevention of pauperism; on married imbeciles and feeble-minded persons, what to do with them and how to prevent their propagation; on the distribution of pauperism, etc., were read and discussed. Mr. R. D. McGonnigle, of Pittsburgh, who has so long and ably held the position of corresponding secretary, was elected president. The next meeting will be held in Pittsburgh.

The Twenty-fifth Annual Convention of the County Officers of the Poor of the State of New York was held at Ogdensburg in June. The Fifth Ohio Conference of Charities and Corrections was held at Delaware, in October. The Wisconsin State Conference of Charities and Corrections was held in Milwaukee, in February, 1895. The Fourth Indiana Conference of Charities and Corrections was held at Fort Wayne, in October, 1895. The Twenty-first Michigan Convention of the Superintendents of the Poor and the Union Association was held at Flint, in December, 1895, and the Fourth Minnesota State Conference of Charities and Corrections was held at Faribault, in October.

Some little account of each of these conferences, with the exception of the Michigan Convention, may be found in the November number of the *Charities Review* \* and in most cases the names of the secretaries of the respective associations are given. Almost all of them publish proceedings, containing the papers and discussions, which in many cases are valuable sources of information for students of these

\* Published for the Charity Organization Society of the State of New York at Galesburg, Ill. \*

topics. These proceedings, as a rule, can be obtained by application to the various secretaries, by enclosing a proper number of stamps.

*National Conference of Charities and Corrections.*—The members of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections will henceforth, in accordance with a special arrangement made by their Executive Committee, receive regularly as part of the publications of that body, the *Charities Review*, which is published primarily for the Charity Organization Society of New York, and is at the same time the most valuable special publication in its line issued in this country. In addition to its general features, it will in the future give special attention to matters pertaining to the work of the National Conference.

*Child-Helping Societies in Massachusetts.*—It is part of the policy of those engaged in the best scientific charity work at the present time, to have frequent conferences between societies, individuals, and organizations, in any given locality, engaged in a similar line of work. These are always useful, if in no other way, at least in bringing the workers in more sympathetic contact with each other and increasing their knowledge of what each, individually, is doing. Discussions also often lead to more united and persistent efforts on the part of all concerned.

A still further opportunity for helpfulness consists in the publication, under the auspices of such conference organizations, of papers and prepared reports bearing directly on the line of work in question. The Conference of Child-Helping Societies in Massachusetts, of which Miss Emily Greene Balch is secretary, has just issued a "Manual for Use in Cases of Juvenile Offenders and Other Minors in Massachusetts," which Miss Balch prepared at the request of the conference. It contains a summary of all the legal aspects of treating juvenile offenders and minors. This material is arranged in a convenient form for ready reference, and the whole pamphlet is written in language easily understood by those not acquainted with technical legal terms, but contains also frequent references to the law and judicial decisions in the State of Massachusetts bearing on this topic.

*Cooper Union Labor Bureau, New York City.*—For a long time it was the wish of Peter Cooper that there might be some kind of labor bureau or exchange at the Cooper Institute, as well as some kind of loan association for workingmen. The latter wish was realized a few years ago in the organization of the Birkbeck Company, and the former, October 7, when the Cooper Union Labor Bureau was opened at Room 15. This Bureau exists for the purpose of affording facilities for securing work, if the applicant can give a satisfactory

character and business reference. The references are as carefully investigated by the Bureau as by an individual business man, and, if satisfactory, the man is placed on the available list. Applications are coming in from large employers of labor, and a position on the available list is in direct line of securing a position. From the survey of the entire field, men with some physical disability, which unfit them for active work but does not prevent them from filling a special position, provided their references are satisfactory, can be placed. The Labor Bureau is not a charity, but is a business enterprise. Only applicants with references, which have been verified by a conscientious investigation, will be recommended to employers. The idle, vicious or physically incapable, will be severely let alone by the Bureau, to be dealt with by other agencies. The Bureau will scrupulously avoid giving charity, but will be at the service of the charitable. To employers desiring good men, the Bureau will save time in searching for them, expense in advertising, and trouble in determining their fitness and character. To employes, the Bureau will save time and money in looking for a position, and in trying vainly to secure it for themselves. To the general public, the Bureau will be of advantage in saving men from being the recipients of charity through forced idleness, and will relieve the community to that extent of the necessity of giving charity. The Bureau does not undertake to provide employment, but only to afford facilities for so doing. For the more efficient conduct of the work, the following rules and regulations have been adopted:

1. Every person applying to be registered shall fill up correctly a printed form to be obtained on personal application to the Superintendent at the Bureau.
2. Every person applying to be registered shall take his place in rotation, and any person not behaving in a proper manner will be excluded at the discretion of the Superintendent.
3. Every person who has been registered shall, as soon as possible after obtaining employment, fill in and send to the Superintendent at the Labor Bureau, the printed form provided for that purpose.
4. The names of all persons who have been registered will remain on the register for Fourteen Days only (Sundays and Holidays not counting), unless such persons on the Fourteenth Day after registration give notice that they are still out of employment and resident in New York, such notice to be repeated on every succeeding Fourteenth Day that they remain out of employment.
5. The Bureau does not undertake to find employment, but only to afford facilities for so doing.
6. That in the selection of men to be employed by the City, preference will be given as follows:
  - (a) Married men, with families.
  - (b) Married men, without families.
  - (c) Single men.
7. If employment be offered, the Superintendent will afford those registered an opportunity of applying for it, according to fitness, by rotation, but employers

may select from the register any one whom they consider specially suitable for their employment.

8. No employer will be provided with employes in case of a strike, nor will any employe on strike be eligible for registration.

9. All employers engaging labor through the agency of the Bureau are expected to pay the wages usually paid in their respective trades.

10. All references will be carefully and conscientiously examined, and no applicant will be recommended for a position unless his references are satisfactory in every particular to the Superintendent.

11. ~~88~~ No applicant shall be registered unless he shall have resided for at least six months in New York City.

12. No fee shall be charged for registration, or for securing employes.

13. Office hours are from 9 a. m. to 5 p. m.

14. This Labor Bureau is open for men who are seeking employment, and for those who are seeking the services of men.

**The Tramp Question in Hartford, Conn.**—The police department in Hartford has been in the habit of lodging all persons who applied, sometimes stowing away as many as sixty or seventy on one night in the prisoners' cells. During October and November of 1895 the usual number of these lodgers ranged from fifteen to twenty per night. They were largely acknowledged to be ordinary tramps, although under the State law that vocation is a State's prison offence. The Board of Police Commissioners, however, took a new stand on November 24, and instructed the Chief of Police to have all tramps arrested and brought before the courts. Those applicants claiming residence in Connecticut are to be charged with vagrancy, and those without residence made to answer to the charge of being tramps. As a result of this activity in enforcing the law, application for free lodging in Hartford has almost entirely ceased, and but few tramps apply for help at the office of the Charity Organization Society. The police court judge frequently relaxes the severity of the law by giving the prisoner the privilege of leaving the town. The public often defeats the terrorizing character of the law by giving money to those who appeal for a dime to save themselves from arrest. It remains to be seen whether the laxity of the police court judges, and this indiscriminate giving on the part of the public, will eventually undermine the good effects of the law. At present, however, Hartford seems to be marked by the tramp fraternity as one of the towns to be avoided.

**Popular Banks in Italy.**—Professor Guiseppe Fiamingo, of Rome, has recently called attention to the rather remarkable development of the co-operative banks in Italy.\* The greatest progress in the co-operative movement in England has been chiefly along the line of co-operative societies for the consumption of produced goods,

\* In the columns of *Le Siecle*, Paris.

that is, consumers' societies. In France the greatest success has been obtained along the line of producing co-operative societies. In Italy and also in Germany it has been rather the co-operative banks that have attained the greatest success. This has been due in part to the initiative along this line taken by Schultze-Delitsch in Germany, and Luigi Luzzatti, in Italy. In Italy, in spite of the economic crisis, the little popular banks have continued to increase and flourish when larger credit organizations have failed. They have helped the larger merchants and agriculturalists, as well as the smaller ones and the working men. In 1893, their clientele numbered 368,193 persons. Of this number, 24,116 were large agriculturalists and 88,000 smaller holders; 17,000 peasants; 92,000 smaller merchants; 29,000 working men and 69,000 officials and employees. From 1864, the date when the first popular bank was established, to 1870, their number increased steadily. In 1870, it was 50; in 1881, they numbered 171, and from 1881 to 1887, their increase was still more rapid, so that in the latter year they numbered 608 and possessed a capital of 104,000,000 liras. The increase for the following years, in spite of the severe times, steadily continued, for example, in 1888, 652; 1889, 672; 1890, 694; 1894, 720, with a capital of 115,000,000 liras. In this latter year they received on deposit 372,000,000 liras and discounted paper, aggregating in amount 214,000,000 liras.

**School Savings Banks.**—The statistics of this movement in the State of New Jersey, up to June 1, 1895, have been recently published by Mrs. S. L. Oberholtzer, 1905 Tioga street, Philadelphia, from whom any information as to how to institute school savings banks may be obtained. Other literature on the subject will be supplied by application to the same source.

Since January 1, 1894, it would seem from this recent report that these savings banks have been instituted in thirty-nine school-houses in New Jersey, covering six towns or cities. All but ten of these banks, however, date in their foundation from some time since January 6, 1895, and thus are of very recent origin. The number of children registered in these schools is 13,230, and, in a relatively short time, over 6700 depositors were actually enrolled. The total deposits amounted to \$8,638.01, of which only \$489.10 had been drawn on the date of this report.